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WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT IN ZAMBIA: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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African Training and Research
Centre for Women (ATRCW)

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ABBREVIATIONS USED BY THE COMPILERS OR IN SOURCES/INDEX

ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ILO	International Labour Organization (of the United Nations)
IPPF	International Planned Parenthood Federation
nd	no date
NECZAM	National Educational Corporation of Zambia
NFNC	National Food and Nutrition Commission
OLC	Overseas Liaison Committee
SCOPA	Standing Committee on Population Activities
SIDA	Swedish International Development Association
UNECA/FAO	Economic Commission for Africa of the United Nations/ Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (United Nations Children's Fund)
VD	Venereal disease
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

INTRODUCTION

1. Women in Development

The question that first comes to mind when preparing this type of bibliography is whether there are sufficient works on women in development in Zambia to justify publication of a separate volume on the subject. The definition of "development" can initially be confined to women's activities in various spheres related to industrialization and modernization. Further reflection on the problem of women and development and the content of literature on the topic help to broaden and deepen the concept of development.

The view expressed herein should be familiar to most readers. Development is to be distinguished from industrialization or growth, although these are among its components. On one fundamental level, development means an improvement of the material quality of life, but it is not limited in scope to provision of minimal shelter, clothing and food: it implies instead, enjoying these at such a level that life is made more comfortable. Some of the works cited in the bibliography reveal that indeed most people wish to raise the quality of their life beyond the level of survival; to achieve this, they need access to means of production. At a second level, development therefore encompasses infrastructural factors which enable people to enjoy a better life. These include health care, educational, marketing and transportation services.

In order to realize both these aspects of development, individual and national productivity must increase. Industrialization can help to achieve higher production, but this is not sufficient: methods of distribution are also important. Industrialization and higher productivity may not lead to real development if the socio-economic system denies equal access to means of production and distribution. Indeed, some research reveals that women are becoming steadily impoverished and this at a time when industrialization, modernization and growth are occurring.

At the national level, development achievements that emphasize industrialization have been disappointing in spite of praiseworthy political intentions. Real per capita income has fallen, economic growth and food production have lagged behind population increase. In urban areas, there are noticeable disparities in the quality of services such as housing, health care and education available to various social strata. These differences are even more pronounced between town and country.

Some of the works in this bibliography indicate that material conditions are deteriorating for the majority of peasants and urban dwellers, particularly those not employed in the formal sector, and that within the impoverished group the role of women is becoming more marginal: these facts all suggest that the premise on which development is based should be questioned. Some of the issues at stake, such as the position of Zambia with regard to global means of production and

and distribution are beyond the scope of the bibliography. Of relevance, however, is that industrialization and modernization entail the exploitation and under-development of women: alternative strategies which view women as part of a solution could simultaneously improve the condition of women and contribute to national development. Given Zambia/s position within the global socio-economic system, successful achievement of national development may not require large-scale or heavy industrialization, but instead, an efficient and maximal utilization of local resources, chief amongst which are people, including women. Research on women and production has shown that female labour is under-utilized. Paradoxically, history shows that women have been willing to work their hardest in order to provide for their families: their activities in the informal sector in both rural and urban area demonstrate this. Some have participated in the agricultural market and contributed to national development. Other have participated in the formal sector. Why, then, are they an insufficiently utilized resource?

Some of the works in the bibliography address this question: Answers are not to be sought in current attitudes and practices only, but in historical developments which have culminated in contemporary handicaps. Readers will learn that today's attitudes derive not only from the colonial period which accentuated the situation, but from pre-colonial days when women worked for the survival of their families and kin members. At that time, they were subjected to "patriarchal" attitudes: in some societies these found expression in the denial of access to a basic means of production, land. In other cases, where women could obtain land through many channels and own property such as cattle, they only assumed limited leadership duties in their societies: men usually retained ultimate control over household produce and property.

Women were somewhat respected in societies where they could own property but remained excluded from decision-making processes of wider implications, from village politics and from the judiciary. There were other social norms whichworked against women: they could not initiate divorce and often remained subjected to relationships which were detrimental to them. Ideology which took form in initiation rituals, norms of behaviour and religion played a significant role in dictating activities for women in the service of the husband, family and household, thereby further reducing their potential involvement in issues of broader interest. Although women did hold some degree of power in religious affairs, it was limited: it was either symbolic and controlled by the chief, or it ceased upon death.

These practices persisted through the colonial era and found re-inforcement in attitudes of colonial officials towards women: where officials participated in allocation and distribution of land as the cases of the post-1945 "Peasant Farmers" and the post-Kariba Resettlement schemes, land was only given to men. The technical knowledge of the twentieth century and financial and marketing facilities were directed towards men. For this reason women did not fully participate in cash crop production, nor did their productivity increase. In the rare cases

where it did, husbands felt that their knowledge and ownership of implements justified monopolizing agricultural income. This in turn discouraged women from contributing as much labour as they might have wished.

Education was open to men long before women gained access to it: when they did, curricula emphasized home economics training. Women were thus victims on two fronts: on the one hand, few could participate in the formal sector for lack of education; on the other, because subjects re-inforced the models of wives and mothers, educated women often preferred not join the work force. Although education did widen the horizons of women, it remained an ideological tool for their subordination.

In the urban areas wage labour exposed men to far-reaching issues and gave them access to the few amenities available to Africans. When stipends improved, men were able to combine farming with salaried employment in order to realize some, albeit often minimal, capital for investment. The disadvantages resulting from absence of participation by women in wage employment were aggravated by laws and regulations which restricted female presence in towns. Those women who did manage to move to urban areas became totally dependent on their husbands or male kin. It was not until the 1950s that they would turn to market trading.

Leaders of the post-colonial state tried to build an egalitarian society and to utilize human resources efficiently. Theoretically there was to be equal access to knowledge and equitable distribution of agricultural inputs and other facilities to all producers. In actual fact, women continued to be victims of discrimination. Their position was becoming more marginal and, as some producers started to raise their standards through increased production, most women became poorer as they were barred from market activities. The government opened more schools, lowered entry requirements for women at certain stages in the educational ladder and emphasized academic subjects for all. Women responded, but those few who entered the formal sector generally became subjected to male prejudices in terms of treatment and promotional opportunities. The state could not fully exploit female potential under these circumstances. Some of the works cited herein serve as a reminder of the tendency to misleading political rhetoric: the nation is frequently told of the advantages women gain through political independence, yet systematic research reveals that only a small proportion of women are true beneficiaries. The majority continue to be ignored.

The independent state removed handicaps to female movement into cities and towns, a decision that created its own problems. The majority of women cannot be incorporated into the formal sector and have to survive by going into some type of trade -- the informal sector, which has yet to be termed an important part of the national economy. At present the attitude of state officials towards traders remains ambivalent and finds expression in laws which do not allow for trading without a license, in perpetual police harassment and in charges against them as exploiters.

Some discriminatory laws are a legacy of the colonial period, others can be attributed to the independent state. The Income Tax laws, inherited from colonialism, absorb a great proportion of a wife's wages and make it difficult for women separated under customary law to claim child allowance. The new state's citizenship code makes it hard, if not impossible, for foreign husbands to be granted Zambian citizenship. Legislation, therefore, can adversely affect the morale of Zambian women and impede full utilization of their labour.

Ideology as seen through education and norms of behaviour may be used to justify exploitation and effectively conditions the exploited into submission. In Zambia as elsewhere in the world, ideology has conditioned women into accepting their secondary role in society, their exploitation by husbands and by the state and, in turn, under-utilization of their potential. Women are the teachers in institutions that perpetuate the subordination of women; political leaders call for the perpetuation of such institutions; women continue to allow themselves to find alternatives through religion, they are not at the forefront of the political, economic and social struggle for the betterment of disadvantaged people, yet they form the majority of this population category. Ideology also influences the operation of developmental agencies: many action-oriented organizations -- various arms of the United Nations, SIDA, the YWCA, the NFNC as well as local groups -- initiate and carry out programmes to improve the condition of women and increase their participation in development activities, but they do not seem to achieve success at all levels. This is attributable to a lack of dynamism in addressing problems such as access to means of production and distribution and to a continued emphasis on home-oriented skills programmes.

In summary women are only playing a limited role in the development of Zambia: the many obstacles that hold back their advancement should be analysed within a framework of access to means of production and equitable distribution. Unless this can be achieved at the individual and national level, women will continue to constitute an under-utilized resource in the country.

2. Collection and Location

One cannot enter a library and hope to find works on women, let alone women in development, under the heading "women": the bibliography therefore required substantial efforts in locating publications on the subject of women in development.

An important revelation was that some works written in the 1930s, the 1940s and the 1950s, well before the women's issue became fashionable, discussed the place of women in production, in other economic activities and in society as a whole. As the bibliography will show, these are mainly anthropological publications: although primarily concerned with social organization and, to a limited extent, social change, they bear relevance to the question of women and development. The writings of anthropologist Elizabeth Colson illustrate this point most effectively. The bibliography, then, offers a chance to broaden knowledge of and perspectives on the

question of women and development.

In compiling the bibliography a number of individuals and agencies residing outside of Zambia were contacted: some responded immediately with copies of specific publications while others suggested still more references. As a result, the bibliography contains entries collected over a nine-month period and probably comprises the bulk of works on women and development in Zambia: however, it is not complete.

With regard to location readers will see that the bibliography contains mimeographed and other unpublished works such as theses and dissertations. Most of these were personally sent by their authors and have been deposited at the library of the University of Zambia, Lusaka campus. Others which were only lent can be obtained directly from the authors.

3. Layout

The bibliography is divided into seven sections which are intended to serve more as working than as interpretative categories. They include education, health and nutrition, ideology, production, social organization and change, socio-economic position and research in progress.

The fast categories of social sciences are arbitrary and artificial, as human activities are too varied and inter-related for clear classification. From a practical point of view, however, an excess of categories might be cumbersome for readers. For these reasons, the bibliography also includes a number of cross-references. Finally, works not directly relating to Zambia have been omitted: for these useful and relevant publications, readers are directed to earlier ATRCW and to area bibliographies.

4. Note on Tense

Readers will notice that some of the entries are in the present tense and others in the past. This reflects insofar as possible the original usage.

REFERENCES

Nancy J. Hafkin (1977) Women and Development in Africa, Bibliography Series No.1. United Nations Economic Commission for Africa.

Ophelia Mascarenhas & Marjorie Mbilinyi (1979) The Integration of Women in Development in Tanzania. An Annotated Bibliography (draft copy).

Deborah Bryceson & Majorie Mbilinyi (1978) The changing role of Tanzanian women in production: from peasants to proleteriens. Paper presented to the Sussex Conference on the Subordination of Women.

1. EDUCATION

1. Angi, Carol & Trevor Coombe. (1969) Training programmes and employment opportunities for primary school leavers in Zambia. Manpower and Unemployment Research in Africa. Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 1-12.

With increasing urbanization, there is a surplus of places in rural schools and a shortage of urban school places. At the time of this report, about 80 per cent of the children enroled in primary schools were unable to proceed to Grade 7. The article analyses some aspects of the primary school-leaver problems with special reference to training programmes and employment opportunities.

Lusaka Home Industries trains women in handicrafts and cooperative establishment and provides a sales-centre. The African Evangelical Fellowship sponsors a nurses' aid course at Nukinga Hospital in North-Western Province, and the Kitwe YWCA sponsors a six-month course. The article concludes that the programmes for girls lack prevocational orientation and concentrate on "pre-marital training in homecraft and domestic science".

2. Clarke, Sarah. (1976) The position of women in education and employment in Zambia: some problems worthy of further research. (mimeo) 11pp.

The purpose of this paper is to examine some statistics showing the position of women in education and employment. In the four statistical tables used, the author attempts to identify the problems or questions arising from the figures and suggests possible reasons for them. The tables used are: "The ratio of females; males in the educational system", "Details of population working, and seeking work, by sex 1969"; "General occupations taken up by women from the employment exchange service between 1965 and 1974", and "Working population in broad occupational groups, African ethnic group, by sex, Copperbelt Urban, 1969".

Education has been less available to females, therefore fewer women are in wage employment. In 1973 there were 49 per cent girls to 51 per cent boys in Grade 1; 37 per cent girls to 63 per cent boys in Grade 7. In Form V only 29 per cent were girls while there were 17 per cent women among the graduates from the University of Zambia for 1973. Some possible reasons are that the school curriculum is geared more to boys than to girls, parents discourage girls from continuing their education, girls marry or become pregnant before they complete school, and girls

have domestic responsibilities and thus find it difficult to attend school.

Fifty-seven per cent of the adult male population as against 13 per cent of the adult female population was in wage employment in 1969. 16 per cent of the women claimed to be seeking employment. This is comparable to 20 per cent of males seeking work. Many women who want to find employment either do not have sufficient educational qualifications or their husbands discourage them. Some women are discouraged from working because their husbands appropriate their earnings or stop contributing to the household expenses.

More research is needed to determine whether a lack of education is the main constraint in preventing women from finding wage employment. If education is not the main constraint, this could mean that Zambian women represent an under-utilized section in the labour force. Women can make a greater contribution to the development of the nation if certain unnecessary constraints are removed.

3. King, Evaline R.G. (1950) On educating African girls in Northern Rhodesia. The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, No. 10, pp.65-74.

The article looks at male attitudes toward educated women and at urbanization and education as factors leading to female emancipation. These are discussed within the context of women's roles as good housewives and mothers.

The most widely held male prejudices against girls attending school were that they would become too proud to do household chores; that they would 'talk too much" (i.e. be unsubmissive), that, if they spoke and wrote English they would write and receive letters which their parents or husbands might not understand; and that they would take jobs away from males. On the other hand, educated men wishing to adopt European standards wanted educated wives. Hence many men married South African and Southern Rhodesian wives who were considered more "sophisticated" than Northern Rhodesians. At the time she made her observations, King noted that females were beginning to realize the advantages of education which secured them jobs and economic independence from their fathers.

Education was seen as having an effect on female emancipation under certain conditions. There was no definite school-starting age, and girls often started late and left early to marry before education could have any lasting effects. Girls preferred separate tuition from boys, but most schools were co-educational with all male teachers, who either ignored girls or treated them as sexual objects. In these surroundings female pupils became self-effacing and did not develop their initiative and

leadership qualities. By contrast, at all-girls' (usually mission) schools, teachers were as a rule European females. There, girls received more encouragement and developed initiative and leadership qualities.

Urbanization could also contribute to female emancipation. Since town women had more leisure time, girls could be in school. But some problems faced unmarried educated women in urban areas, such as lack of career openings and unavailability of suitable accommodation.

4. Kunda, Abraham. (1961) Northern Rhodesian Technical School for Girls. African Women, Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 37-38.

Kitwe Technical School for Girls, formerly Mindolo Girls' Boarding School, was the first technical school for girls in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia). Of the 30 girls enroled in 1961, 18 were taking dressmaking and 12 were in cooking classes. Both these were one-year courses, but there were plans to extend them to two years. Plans for expansion included typing.

5. Mbikusita-Lewanika, Inonge M. (1980) Indigenous education and the introduction of western formal education in the Western Province of Zambia. History staff seminar. School of Education, University of Zambia. (mimeo) 21pp.

Indigenous education existed prior to the colonial era. The education of the very young was conducted mainly by the mother and female relatives. The methods and techniques varied according to the age, maturity and sex of the child. Children were provided with toy versions of the equipment used by adults. From the age of six girls became involved in women's activities, while boys of the same age helped their fathers and other male relatives. The purpose of indigenous education was to adjust young people to their life situations and to prepare them for their adult roles in the community. They learned from their elders by role playing in the context of their homes and natural surroundings. Education was also conducted through initiation rites - through mileka, the boys' initiation rite, eradicated after the introduction of formal western schooling, and through bwalanje, the girls' initiation rite, which has persisted in a modified form. Through these rites, young people had their responsibilities, conduct and expected behaviour clearly defined to prepare them for their adult roles and function in the society.

Early mission schools were established some distance from the village and the indigenous system of education. In the early days they only accepted boys. A mission school was set up for girls in 1924 at Mabumbu. The curriculum included the "three

Rs" but also offered practical activities such as gardening, crafts, cooking and stamping grain. The school attempted to initiate girls by modifying some of the traditional methods while incorporating the Biblical aspect. This programme was abandoned since most parents were dissatisfied with it.

Since mission schools did not enrol girls until much later than boys, girls lagged in formal education and employment. Education for females was made more available after Zambia's independence. However, the author concludes that western education does not adequately prepare young people for their future roles, and this results in uncertainty, insecurity and anxiety about their function in society.

6. Scudder, Thayer & Elizabeth Colson. (in press) Secondary education and the formation of an elite: the impact of education on Gwembe District, Zambia. New York: Academic Press.

The book does not specifically focus on women, but about 12 per cent of the secondary school leavers sampled were women. Sections of the book deal with women's education and the careers of educated Gwembe women.

7. Skillman, C.J. (1968) Some aspects of women's education in Zambia Student research paper. School of Education, University of Zambia. (mimeo) 19pp.

In 1925 there were two boarding schools for girls in Northern Rhodesia run by missionaries: by 1929 the number had increased to 15. The curriculum emphasized homecraft and child care, since the general aim was to prepare women for their roles as wives and mothers.

In 1938 the drop-out rate for girls was 99.7 per cent. In 1950-1951 more than half the girls were dropping out after one year's schooling. After this date the pattern changed gradually. The highest drop-out occurred between the 4th to 6th years of schooling, mainly because of early marriage. Another reason was that when school fees were demanded and choices had to be made, parents preferred to educate boys rather than girls, since girls were needed at home to help with chores. There was also a fear that a girl taught by males in a mixed school would be exposed to moral danger since she would be outside her family's control.

In development plans and official reports special attention was drawn to the need for adult education for women, but at first it never got past the planning stage. When vocational training was finally introduced in the latter part of the 1940s, it was limited to teaching and nursing. Since Independence there has been massive secondary school expansion with an emphasis

on academic learning. In spite of this expansion, enrolment of girls lags behind that of boys and there is still a great drop-out rate for girls. Academic subjects aim to extend women's role to include employment, and they are no longer expected to be wives and mothers only. Both husbands and the girls' families feel some resentment at this change in the women's role.

8. Snelson, Peter D. (1974) Educational development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945. Lusaka: NECZAM. 324pp.

This book describes how western education developed through the contributions of the various missionary societies. The contribution of the London Missionary Society to women's education was demonstrated through Mabel Shaw who worked for 25 years at Mbereshi Girls' School. Education at Mbereshi related to actual village and community life. The girls lived as closely as possible to an ordinary village life but with classroom work. They drew their own water, collected firewood, prepared their own food, learned to sew, knit and were instructed in mothercraft and childcare. After a girl left Mbereshi she was not only an excellent wife and mother but could make a career in either teaching or nursing.

The Paris Missionary Society opened a girls' boarding school in 1916 at Sensheke and in 1928 (but cf. No.5) a central girls' boarding school was started at Mabumbu.

Chipumoi Boarding School produced the first Standards IV and VI girls and the first female teachers in Northern Rhodesia. In 1946 it became a girls' secondary school and drew students from all parts of the country.

Parents' unwillingness to educate their daughters was deep-rooted and lasted for many years, although they objected less to sending them to schools with lady missionary teachers, initially, parents did not see the value or relevance of educating girls and feared that their educated daughters would have difficulty in securing husbands. Some girls preferred to stay at home and prepare themselves for marriage. But when parents realized the value and usefulness of female education, admissions of girls to mission boarding schools multiplied.

9. Women teachers in Northern Rhodesia. African Women, Vol. IV, No.1, 1960, pp. 10-11.

As late as the 1950s education for girls emphasized home-oriented courses. Women who completed their School Certificate could be sent to England for training as domestic science teachers. For women who had completed their primary education

and did not intend to become full-time teachers, courses in homecraft, health and nutrition were offered at various government and mission centres. These women could become helpers in lower primary schools. Homecraft courses were also available to wives of teachers.

See also 33, 112, 138, 142, 143.

II. HEALTH AND NUTRITION

10. Colson, Elizabeth. (1959) Plateau Tonga diet. The Rhodes - Livingstone Journal, No. 24, pp. 51-67.

The author lists foodstuffs available to the Tonga throughout the year and emphasizes the fact that although the Tonga diet consists mainly of two meals, there are many other foods eaten in between. Women are responsible for preparing the meals or serving the in-betweens. Yet in those households that buy luxury food items from stores women and children get a smaller share. There are also many taboos and food avoidances arising from religious convictions, from healing processes, for example in the case of barren women, or from personal aversions.

11. Evans, A.J. (1950) The Ila V.D. campaign. The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, No. 9, pp.40-47.

For more than a decade concern had been expressed at the low birth rate and high incidence of venereal diseases (especially syphilis) among the Ila. In 1944 it was estimated that the population included 5,426 women but only 2,809 children - almost 2 women per child. After delays, a campaign to eradicate VD was eventually begun, consisting of compulsory examination and treatment of the entire Ila population. During the survey it was found that in one area, only 3 of 267 adult women were pregnant (1.1 per cent). If representative, this would have meant only 120 births per year among the entire population, with additional loss from infant and neo-natal mortality.

The organization of the campaign is described. Treatment was injections of arsenic and bismuth, with experimental use of penicillin.

The campaign was well received and had the support of the chiefs. The Ila showed no shame when VD was diagnosed, and indeed it proved a source of public amusement. There was no sign that the long-standing attitudes of sexual "permissiveness" would change. Particularly noted was the practice of adultery with the husband's connivance, to enable him to 'catch cattle' by obtaining damages from the co-respondent - a practice ineffectively opposed by the colonial administration.

On re-examination 6-24 months later, it was found that the pregnancy rate had risen to 4.5 per cent, although there were cases of re-infection. Sources of re-infection are discussed, in particular a returned migrant labour through his wife to her lovers and widespread social mixing at funerals.

The author concludes that while there was little evidence that attitudes to sexual "permissiveness" would change, the Ila love for their children might lead eventually to a decline in "promiscuity".

12. Gilges, W. (1955) Some African poison plants and medicines of Northern Rhodesia. The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, No. 11, pp. 389-426.

While old customs are disappearing, belief in traditional medicine is not. This article lists plants of north-western Zambia used as medicines either for curative or killing purposes. The root of the Mutata contains a deadly poison and women insert the root scrapings into the vagina to induce abortions. In addition they use other medicines for contraceptive and other purposes. Use of these plants extends beyond the boundaries of the North-Western Province. Aphrodisiacs and contraceptive medicines provide a large portion of the trade in potent herbs from the North-Western to the Copperbelt Provinces.

13. Goldberg, Susan. (1970) Infant care in Zambia: measuring maternal behaviour. Human Development Research Unit Reports, No.13. Institute for African Studies, University of Zambia, Lusaka. 21pp.

The study set out to test the hypothesis that maternal care acts as a stimulus to the development of the baby, particularly in the first year. Through the method of observation the team studied 38 babies aged 4 months (20 girls and 18 boys) in Matero, a high-density, low-income suburb north-west of Lusaka. The team noted that the babies did not have individual rooms; that they were more or less continuously in the presence of the mother or substitute caretaker, often one of the extended family structure; that babies were usually carried on the back; that all the babies were breastfed and mothers used the breast for comfort at any sign of distress from the baby. Each observation period lasted 10 minutes during which maternal behaviour was also noted. The most frequent activity was holding the baby followed by looking and touching. The Matero findings contrast with reports from Dutch and American mothers where such contact is less frequent and vocalizing higher than among Zambian mothers. By using the Bayley Motor Scale, the team concluded that the group that experienced the most handling showed the most advanced development. Zambian babies, receiving a great deal of physical stimulation, are about three weeks ahead of American babies who in turn are ahead of Dutch ones. Other factors such as climate, genetic determinant and family size and structure, which this study does not cover, may also play an important part in infant development.

14. Hansen, Anita Spring. (1972) Fertility, marriage and ritual participation among the Luvale of North-Western Province, Zambia (mimeo) 31pp. Also in Conference Proceedings. Tallahassee: University of Florida Press, 1975.

Much of what Hansen says in this paper is explained in her Ph.D. dissertation (No.22). She sampled two groups: women who delivered in the villages and those who went to the mission hospital. In the past the Luvale birth rate was very low. Although it has been increasing, it still remains lower than that of other ethnic groups. This has been blamed on Luvale promiscuity resulting in a high incidence of venereal disease, on the use of abortifacients and on the techniques used by village midwives. Women who deliver in the village have a lower fertility rate and a higher "reproductive wastage" and more suffer from venereal disease. They use traditional medicines and have elaborate rituals performed on themselves. Yet the many rituals themselves demonstrate Luvale concern about infertility and infant mortality. Younger women, who comprise the greater proportion of those who deliver at the hospital, have more education and exposure to Christianity. They rely more on modern than on traditional medicines, have higher fertility and less "reproductive wastage", suffer fewer problems with venereal disease and have recourse to fewer elaborate rituals.

15. Kaunda, J.N. & Catherine Nwanamwambwa. (1977) A case study of mothers who bottle-feed only, breast-feed only and both bottle and breast-feed. (mimeo) 16pp.

It is generally believed that most urban women, particularly the poor, bottle-feed their children, causing increased infant illness and malnutrition. Kaunda and Nwanamwambwa conducted a survey of infant feeding habits in a Lusaka peri-urban compound where the majority of inhabitants were not fully urbanized. Of the 97 women interviewed, 72 preferred breast-feeding, which they did up to an average of 1½ years. Reasons for preferring this method were the availability, cheapness and nutritional value of breast milk. The answers are consistent with lessons given at health centres and by mobile nutritionists, indicating to the authors that health and nutrition education can and does influence women's attitudes.

The 25 women who bottle-fed their babies from 3 weeks to 6 months indicated as reasons insufficient breast milk supply (the majority); father's ability to provide bottle and milk; sickness of mother, nutritional value of artificial milk; and (one case only) mother's employment. Methods of preparing and storing the food were poor since the compound lacked electricity and refrigeration. The authors concluded that men were largely to blame for not providing sufficient help or good

diet for their pregnant and nursing wives, resulting in insufficient milk supply. Education, particularly for husbands and fathers, was therefore required.

16. Leeson, Joyce & Ronald Frankenberg. (1977) The patients of traditional doctors in Lusaka. African Social Research, No. 23, pp. 217-234.

The article compares the patients of western-style doctors and African traditional doctors, ng'angas. There were more women visiting ng'angas than men. Younger people generally preferred the western-style doctor. Mental illness, digestive and respiratory disorders and infertility were the ailments commonly handled by ng'angas. Most women who visited ng'angas went because they were infertile: these doctors claimed they specialized in curing infertility. Most of their patients had been to modern doctors and were either dissatisfied or had not been cured. Ng'angas were also preferred where patients suspected witchcraft as the cause of their predicament.

17. Mitchell, J. Clyde. (1965) Differential fertility amongst urban Africans in Zambia. The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, No. 37, pp. 1-25.

Data for this paper were collected from the Copperbelt between 1951 and 1954. Mitchell demonstrates that there is a marked variation in fertility to be interpreted in both biological, sociological and environmental terms, among urban Africans. The highest rate of fertility is among women from Luvingu, followed by Chinsali women. The least fertile are in the Kabompo District followed by the Balovale District. Roman Catholics have a higher fertility rate than other groups and also have the lowest proportion of childless women over the age of 30. Other Christian groups have an average proportion of childless women. "Pagans" have a lower fertility rate than Christians. There is a high proportion of childlessness among women who have spent a considerable portion of their lives in towns. This trend is due either to a high mortality rate among children or to a lower fertility through an early exposure to disease.

There does not appear to be correlation between level of education and childlessness, although the rate of the latter is slightly higher among educated women. This could be due to lower mortality among the children. A distinct relationship was observed between the husbands' occupation and their wives' fertility. In the "white-collar" occupation group wives have the highest fertility ratio, the skilled and semi-skilled occupations have somewhat lower fertility; and the unskilled have the lowest. More research needs to examine the sociological and biological factors

which might affect fertility. These could include dietary practice, use of herbal remedies, urbanization, incidence of diseases such as gonorrhoea and melaria and ethnic origin.

18. Richards, Audrey I. (1932) Hunger and work in a savage tribe. London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd. 238pp.

Originally a doctoral dissertation relying on secondary materials, the book starts from the premise that nutrition is the primary recurrent physical need and that it determines more than any other physiological function the nature of social groupings and the form of their activities. By tracing nutrition from infancy to adulthood, Richards deals with the functions of the household and kin-group. She looks at economic organization: co-operation, ownership of natural resources, inheritance, marriage as an economic partnership and at the symbolic role of ritual. Throughout her analysis women are portrayed as important in their roles as mothers and wives and as producers and distributors. She therefore deals with the mutual obligations of husband and wife, family and kin.
The work is largely on the peoples of south-eastern Africa,
2 The work is largely on the peoples of south-eastern Africa; it draws considerably on the Bemba and Ila for supportive material.

19. Richards, Audrey I & E.M. Widdowson. (1936) A dietary study in north-eastern Rhodesia. Africa Vol. 9, No. 2, pp.166-196.

The article is based on research carried out in 1933 and 1934. It lists the foods eaten at various times of the year by the Bemba of northern Zambia. It also examines the nutritional value of the diet.

Three typical villages were studied at different seasons. The diet and its value varied from season to season with February to early April representing the hunger period and April to July being the best season. One of the villages where shortages were most acute also recorded a higher incidence of male absence so that women were left with the arduous tasks of cultivation. Yet male labour is necessary for millet cultivation which provides the Bemba with the necessary calories, protein and iron. The village was also closer to the local town and thus had attracted older women whose interest was in beer brewing. These could not rely on kin as urban influences had generally affected people's willingness to share.

The authors conclude that urban families were worse off than their village counterparts. Housewives could not make ends meet on their husbands' wages; they prefered short-term unions to

permanent marriages and did not see any need to invest much energy in garden production. During the hunger period most urbanites sent their children to the village where food was available in spite of shortages.

20. Sharpe, R. (1980) Recipe handbook. Lusaka: National Food and Nutrition Commission, revised edition (mimeo).

The book includes recipes from the various provinces which use local ingredients. There are suggestions for improving the nutritional value of some of traditional foods.

21. SIDA. Report on rural health services in Zambia. SIDA mission to Zambia 7-25 March 1977. (mimeo) 33pp. plus annexes.

The fact finding mission toured the rural health facilities in the Northern and Southern Provinces and found two types of rural health centres differentiated by their respective sizes. One comprises several centres with over 16 beds, while the other consists of numerous smaller centres or sub-centres with four beds. The majority of the sub-centres are government-run while half of the larger centres are mission-operated. Only half the centres have health assistants, the others are managed by medical assistants. A large proportion lack female staff (including midwives), a fact which is due to a shortage of housing. Difficulties in recruiting married nurses accentuate the problem.

Among the mission's recommendations were that more centres be established, that most old ones be upgraded, that refresher courses and seminars particularly in nutrition be encouraged, and that concepts and practices of African medicine be included in the curricula at training institutions.

22. Spring, Anita. (1976) Women's rituals and natility among the Luvale of Zambia. Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University.

The author conducted a fertility ritual survey among Luvale women who delivered babies in villages and under hospital care. From this she deduced a connection between Luvale traditional ritual and medicinal practices and low "natality".

Low natality is a composite of maternal sterility, high reproductive wastage (abortions), and a high rate of perinatal and infant mortality. Most of these problems can be attributed to the use of traditional medicines, which village parturients persist in using despite their dysfunctional consequences. Ritual serves as a mnumonic, reminding women of herbal treatments and perpetuating their use. Village midwifery

techniques are responsible for a great proportion of still-births and perinatal deaths and thus exacerbate the wastage.

Hospital parturients tend to have less recourse to herbal treatments and traditional rituals, resorting to them only if the treatment does not require the insertion of medicines into the vagina. But they do use curative herbs for their children.

Village-doctored women therefore have a much lower birth-rate than women attending hospitals; they complete their reproduction in their early thirties. Patients attending hospitals on the other hand continue to reproduce until menopause. Spring concludes that an increase in the birth rate in recent years is attributable to the presence of a mission hospital. For the conclusion to be generally accepted, however, similar studies would have to be carried out in other parts of the country.

23. Spring, Anita. (1978) Epidemiology of spirit possession among the Luvale of Zambia, in Hoch-Smith, Judith & Anita Spring (eds.), Women in ritual and symbolic roles. New York, Plenum Press, pp. 165-190.

Using Luvale women as a case in point, the chapter investigates how physiological problems initiate spirit possession and to what extent ritual participants use their illnesses to achieve ritual prominence. The birth rate is low, at 2.05 per woman compared to 4.89 for the country. Women are frequently ill with abdominal pains, dysmenorrhoea, fevers, gonorrhoea and other non-specific bacterial diseases. Although these are not fatal, they can interfere with a woman's fertility and menstruation and may also result in general poor health.

Despite changing attitudes resulting from the presence of a mission hospital, some women still turn to ritual for answers to their problems. First in the sequence is the use of herbal remedies and shrines. Finally they turn to spirit possession rituals. If cured, a woman may herself become a ritual expert. She then participates as an adept in other rituals. Spirit possession rituals can also be seen as a means through which women escape from their domestic roles.

24. Spring, Anita. (1978) Faith and participation in traditional versus cosmopolitan medical systems in north-west Zambia. Faith, Pharmacopoeia and Ritual Symposium, African Studies Association Annual Meeting. Baltimore, Maryland, 3 November 1978. (mimeo) 15pp. Tables and figures.

A description and analysis is made of both the traditional and the cosmopolitan medical systems used in the Luvale area. The traditional medical system comprises herbalism, traditional

midwifery, rituals and taboos. The cosmopolitan or biomedical system resembles western health care and includes maternal and child health service, surgery, pharmaceutical services and preventive medicines. The traditional medical treatment begins with herbal remedies given by the patient or by a knowledgeable lay person. If the patient's condition worsens, divination may be required to determine the cause and to recommend the appropriate treatment. When the diviner identifies the cause, he either suggests herbal, ritual or proscriptive therapy or a combination of the three.

Some Luvale believe that the traditional medical system can cure only certain illnesses. They also recognize that the biomedical system can treat some illnesses and that it is especially successful in treating fevers and maternity complications. Christians, a small proportion of the population who believe in the biomedical system, often fall back on herbal or traditional rituals. Choice of which system to follow depends on the degree of illness and of belief in the system. The Luvale are skilled herbalists and since the belief is that herbs have effective chemotherapeutic properties, some Luvale feel that herbs are on the same level with cosmopolitan pharmaceutics.

Women who participate in the traditional medical system also utilize the biomedical system, especially for maternity services. With the facilities of the mission hospital and its competent staff, there has been a drastic reduction in the maternal and infant mortality rate. An interesting point is that women who use hospital services either for parturition or children's illnesses have reduced participation in traditional rituals even though they are mostly non-Christian. Other non-Christians who wish to be considered modern will also use the hospital facilities.

25. University of Zambia, S.C.O.P.A. project (FAMSA) (1977) Family Planning in Zambia: a follow-up project for the International Students Workshop on Family welfare and development. (mimeo)

Following the workshop meeting in Cairo in 1976, two regional projects were planned, one for the Philipines and another for Zambia. The Zambian project aimed to establish the family planning attitudes and practices of Zambian women. The survey sample consisted of 300 randomly selected women from the Family Planning Clinic at the University Teaching Hospital in Lusaka. 54 per cent of the women interviewed were literate. 82 per cent were attending or had attended antenatal clinics where they were told of family planning methods. Over half of the respondents did not clearly understand the advantage of family planning, 93 per cent of the women were satisfied with

the modern method, there was a 20.4 per cent increase in clinic attendance over the previous year, and women with small families averaging four children were in the majority.

26. Whitby, Pauline. (1972) Zambian foods and cooking. Lusaka, National Food and Nutrition Commission. 68 pp.

Information for this booklet was collected from seven provinces in Zambia by the United Nations Development Programme and the Zambian Food and Nutrition Commission. The teams collected information on methods of food processing and cooking in various rural areas, patterns and organization of meals, and preservation and storage of foods. Although the methods of processing and cooking do not vary much from one part of the country to another, their relative importance does.

27. Zambia Broadcating Services (in collaboration with the Department of Community Development.) (1967) Home Cooking. Part 1. Lusaka: NECZAM.

These recipes were developed and tested by community development assistants during the first and second in-service home economics extension training course held at the Natural Resources Development College. All the recipes are made from local ingredients. A list of foods for good health and a well balanced diet are also given.

See also 70, 89.

III. IDEOLOGY

28. Barnes, H.F. (1949) The birth of a Ngoni child. Man Vol. 49, pp. 87-89.

This gives an account of relationships between the people involved in the birth of a baby girl of the Fort Jameson (Chipata) Ngoni and a description of the medicines used by the mother and the baby. No one assisted with the actual birth process but attendants were always present in case anything went wrong. Soon after birth, the baby was anointed with blood from the placental end of the cord. This was done in order to make the baby girl strong

The author attended three births and noted that only females were anointed. He offers no explanation, but it may be suggested that the desire for a strong baby girl reflects the important role of women in society as a labour resource and as the reproducers of labour.

29. Bloom, Leonard. (1972) Some values and attitudes of young Zambians, studied through spontaneous autobiographies. African Social Research, No. 14, pp. 288-300.

This is a follow-up study to Hortense Powdermaker's work on self-imagery and the psychological consequences of social and economic change in Zambia (No. 93). Bloom selected 64 subjects from the University of Zambia and Form III classes at Chalimbana Secondary School who were asked to write their autobiographies as part of their English class. Four of the eleven females at the University of Zambia wished to be men. They desired the freedom that males had, wanted to work after they graduated from the University and wanted to marry later in life. Bloom concludes that these autobiographies indicate that the values and attitudes of the young Zambians are "changing in response to their changing society".

30. Brelsford, W.V. (1949) Rituals and medicines of Chishinga iron-workers. Man. Vol. 49, pp. 27-29.

The paper describes the rituals, medicines and charms the author observed at the revived smelters at Chibote. The smelting period lasts four to five weeks. During this time smelters eat by themselves. Previously, females were not allowed near the site, food was cooked by boys. Now women live nearby and cook for the smelters. However, men continue

to desist from having sexual intercourse. The furnace symbolizes a pregnant wife. To have intercourse while a wife is pregnant can lead to complications and possible death of both mother and child. Therefore women have to be kept away to ensure success and production of good iron.

31. Chaplin, J.H. (1963) Some aspects of folk art in Northern Rhodesia. Man. Vol. 43, pp. 69-72.

The illustrated article depicts paintings found on church, house and granary walls. Though sign writing, which is also shown, reflects modern influences and a male hand, all the paintings are done by women and are set in the people's culture. They hold symbolic meaning. One example of church painting is taken from a Lumpa church of Alice Lenshina. The two side walls are painted differently, reflecting the separation of sexes. The women's side, to the left, has a red design symbolic of menstrual blood while the men's side, to the right, is painted in white, symbolic of the white of semen.

32. Doke, Clement M. (1931) The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia: a study of their customs and beliefs. London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd. 408pp.

This is a record of the author's observations during his missionary work among the Lamba between 1914 and 1921. Some of the observations concern marriage, customs relating to females, and women's work.

Doke suggested that Lamba marriage ties are looser than those among cattle-keeping people. In many instances men and women have had four or more marriages in their lifetime. In all cases of divorce children remain with the mother. The people believe in four main life crises: birth, teething, initial menstruation and death. At the onset of menstruation, the initiate goes through the puberty rite in which she is secluded for three or four months. During this time she is not given any work to do, but receives instruction on how to cook and to behave in married life.

The Lambas are a hunting and agricultural people for whom the hoe is the most important implement: marriage pledges are always made in hoes. The axe is the next most important tool. Hoe work is primarily women's while axe work is men's. In addition to hoeing, gardening, clay work and food preparation are all considered women's work, duties which are emphasized during initiation rites.

33. Johnson, Essie. (1961) Mindolo Women's Training Centre. African Women, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 63-65.

The Mindolo Women's Training Centre started its Christian home making and leadership training course in 1958. Its aim is to aid African women to advance in order to "take their place beside their husband in home and community"; the programme is directed towards women in urban areas. The courses run for four months with a one-month refresher course the following year. The women are taught health, sewing, mothercraft, English, budgeting and Bible study. Recruitment is handled through church, mine and government welfare workers. There are no educational pre-requisites for enrolment but a woman must be literate. Plans exist to include a two-year course in training professional domestic science workers and a one-year course to train kindergarten teachers.

34. Jules-Rosette, Bennetta. (1976) Sources of women's leadership in an indigenous African church. Sociological Symposium, Vol. 17, pp. 69-89.

In the Apostolic Church of John Maranke and other indigenous African churches, the position of women in the hierarchy is informal and subtly defined: they hold limited positions of direct power and are excluded from the political and decision-making arena. Only men are instructed in the oratorical skills which enable them to assume positions of leadership as preachers and instructors.

The influence of the majority of women is evidenced in various ceremonies: the author examines the contribution of women in two specialized uses of their power; their direct control of certain situations and their mystical powers which are considered a gift. A few women are prophetesses, which enables them to exert some power to challenge decisions made by the all male council of elders. Women also exercise leadership powers through healing. This area, the only one where men cannot exert their domination, is the key to women's place in the church's leadership, for healing is the preserve of women.

As singers, midwives and wives of leaders women participate in leadership through manipulation and symbolically. During a sermon singers may intervene through song. By this they control the topics of the sermon and the order of the speeches. Midwives are older healers who possess valuable knowledge that is indispensable for the community's survival. Although a child is not formally an Apostle until baptized, its birth is compared symbolically to baptism since the child is a potential member.

35. Jules-Rosette, Bennetta. (1977) The potters and the painters: art by and about women in urban Africa. Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp.112-127.

The author's concern is to explore the cultural and ethnographic differences between women's and men's art and to examine the images of women conveyed in men's art. She studies Lusaka "compound" art primarily.

Traditionally women's plastic art was confined to clay and textiles and was symbolic rather than representational. Much of it was intended for the instruction of young girls in chisungu initiation. In contrast, men's representational carvings symbolized political and social solidarity and were not intended to be viewed by women.

In the urban situation women have continued to make pottery as a supplementary income earner; it follows traditional techniques, family labour is used, and sales are conducted on a personal basis. Potters with traditional training have a highly developed craftsmanship, while younger women trained in town have less dedication and a more stylized repertoire. Emphasis is on the social rather than the aesthetic component of their work.

Male artists, by contrast, have developed a wider range of media and frequently represent women in carvings, repousse copper, velvet or oil paintings. Three main genres are evident. The mami wata mambo muntu paintings depict stylized mermaids with snakes: the figures.frequently borrowed from other cultures symbolize the power, enticement and danger of urban women. By contrast, idyllic landscapes portray domestic village women productively engaged in traditional tasks or passively watching men at customary occupations such as hunting. In portraits, several stereotypes are evident: the old man (never an old woman); the strong peasant woman; the nubile, bare-breasted girl; and the urban femme fatale. In men's painting, individuality and artistic expression increase: representations of women, however, still reflect male stereotypes, never contemporary self-definitions women have of themselves. The work and philosophy of several artists is discussed.

The author concludes that progress by women in breaking through the artistic barrier of gender is likely to be slow.

36. Jules-Rosette, Bennetta. (1978) Women as ceremonial leaders in an African Church: The Apostles of John Maranke. In Bennetta Jules-Rosette (ed.), The New Religions of Africa. New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation. pp. 127-144.

The chapter draws the same conclusions as suggested in the author's earlier paper (No. 34). In this article, she emphasizes that all women's independent powers lie in the ceremonial works of healing. But powers thus gained are also restricted and therefore hold little promise of leadership for women. Ultimate power rests with men. Drawing on Zambian and Zairean examples she analyzes why and how this is so. She describes in great detail the various forms of ceremonial works in which women are involved.

37. Jules-Rosette, Bennetta. (1978) Women's ceremonial work in an African church: The Apostles of John Maranke. Annual Meetings of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, U.S.A. (mimeo) 36pp.

A version of this appears in a published article of the same year. (No. 36).

38. Jules-Rosette, Bennetta. (1980) Changing aspects of women's initiation in Southern Africa: an exploratory study. Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. 13, No.3, pp. 389-405

The author presents an ethnographic study of the mushecho, a female purity rite performed by the Vapostori (Apostles) of John Maranke, an indigenous African church in Zambia. The majority of the members belong to the Shona and Bemba ethnic groups, others are Zairean Luba-Lulua migrants. Their initiation and marriage practices form the cultural background of the church. Certain aspects associated with initiation have been abbreviated: the methods of instruction in preparation for marriage and initiation having been compressed in one ceremony.

Mushecho determines eligibility for marriage of girls between the ages of 10 and 16, its philosophy and performances find their origins in the Shona rite ciziwizo. Ciziwizo involves virgin detection. The Vapostori prize virgin girls highly and those who pass are theoretically free to choose their own marriage partners. In a religious context, the church's doctrine of equality between the sexes in the light of eventual salvation of its members supports the concept of free mate selection. Like ciziwizo, mushecho includes instructions on marriage. However, it departs from ciziwizo in its emphasis on a nuclear family structure, a reflection of the urban conditions of most of its members. The instructions that girls receive cover customary family responsibilities and loyalties. Thus a reinterpretation of an old rite offers new freedom to women through independent choice of a husband, yet at the same

time the retention of customary controls ensures their continued subjection.

39. Lukutati, Bwembya. (1977) The concept of parenthood in African societies. In Proceedings of the IPPF Africa Regional Conference, Family Welfare and Development in Africa. London, IPPF. pp. 145-152.

As members of a society that regulates and sanctions values and beliefs, the majority of African women still practice traditional family planning methods. The introduction of modern birth control methods has created a cultural conflict that must be understood if family planning services are to be accepted. Most African leaders like President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia stress the preservation of "Africanism", and this begins with the family. To most people in Africa, the value of an extra child outweighs the cost of proper care. The change in traditional values only affects a small proportion of society. Attitudes can only evolve with government provision of education, proper health care centres and information on family planning.

40. Marks, Stuart A. (1976) Large mammals and a brave people: subsistence hunters in Zambia. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 254pp.

This is a study of the Bisa in the central part of the Luangwa Valley in eastern Zambia. Hunting is strictly a male occupation. Both men and women take part in agriculture, the principal mode of subsistence, and both fish, but using different methods: women and children fish along rivers and depressions with baskets, luanga, and plunger cones, chivwavo. Women also select plants for consumption, collect grasses for thatching and gather firewood.

Marks examines some of the Bisa beliefs and attitudes towards women. The Bisa believe in the existance of supernatural and impersonal forces that react to inappropriate human behaviour. These forces are concerned with productive and reproductive activities. The concept of "hot", meaning dangerous, and "cold" are used to ensure proper social behaviour, particularly by women.

41. Muntemba, M. Shimwaayi. (1970) The political and ritual sovereignty among the Mukuni Leya of Zambia. Zambia Museums Journal, Vol. 1, pp. 28-39.

In this article Muntemba looks at the powers and position

held by the Leya chief, who was always a man, and those of the priestess, Be-Dyango. The chief held political, military and judicial powers. The priestess, a close relative of the reigning chief, had religious powers. These included officiating at religious ceremonies at various times during the agricultural cycle and performing the war ritual. She held jurisdiction over land and received birth and death reports.

In earthly life the chief played a symbolic role in ritual. Yet upon his death, he was believed to join the throng of other departed chiefs who interceded on behalf of the people to the supreme being. He thus became an object of prayer and ritual. Despite her active role, the priestess did not attain this distinction on her death. This is probably because though she was a member of royalty, such an act would have elevated the position of women in Leya society, where women do not have judicial and political powers and are excluded from some social activities: instead, their role is considered to be in matters relating to the kitchen.

The conceptual role of the priestess in Leya world view simply reinforces the subordinate position of women in Leya society and the dominant one of men.

42. Mwondela, W.R. (1972) Mukanda and Makishi traditional education in north-western Zambia. Lusaka: NECZAM. 58pp.

The author relates the traditional Luvale system of preparing young people for adulthood. A brief description is given of both the male and female initiation ceremonies. According to the Luvale, it was important for females to know their place in society and to be taught how to be good wives and mothers. A woman's place was in the home and she was trained in these duties during her initiation. The training period lasted for six months or longer. If the girl was engaged, she was prepared for marriage on the last day of the ceremony. The Luvale considered a good wife to be one who was able to run her home properly, cook well, raise children and teach them manners, cultivate fields and have ample food for the household. She was also required to be polite to her husband and other men, be reserved among men and be willing to look after her husband's relatives and work for them if necessary. A wise Luvale woman knew what her husband liked and that the secret to a happy marriage "was to do things the way her husband wanted".

43. Oger, Louis. (1972) Spirit possession among the Bemba: a linguistic approach. Paper presented at the conference on the History of Central African Religions. Lusaka, Zambia, 30 August - 8 September 1972. (mimeo) 18pp.

The revivals of spirit possession among the Bemba of the Northern Province can be explained in several ways. In 1907 there was a sudden outburst of spirit possession. This can be attributed to the British declaring that mitanda ("residences in the gardens") and the agriculture practice of citemene ("lopping of trees") were to be abolished. The people were to be grouped into large settlements. This resulted in mass discontent, passive resistance and a famine. Pre-independence years brought about another outbreak of spirit possession. This was a time of uncertainty, insecurity and change in traditional society. Since independence the process of social change has been so rapid that the Bemba are returning to ancestral values. Women are always the largest proportion of victims during these outbreaks of spirit possession.

In addition to identifiable socio-economic causes, women are prone to possession at crucial and difficult periods in their lives, at puberty, menstruation and menopause. Women become possessed in marriage either to be respected by a "spirit-fearing husband" or to be free of the sexual control of their spouse. Possession can also bestow higher status. Women possessed by imfumu, the chiefly spirits, cease to have normal relations with their husbands. They attain the privilege of having relations with any other imfumu. Normally men are not socially censured for extramarital relationships, while women are. Spirit possession could free women from this restriction.

44. Poewe, Karla O. (in press) Matrilineal ideology: male-female dynamics in Luapula, Zambia. New York; Academic Press.

In this book Poewe considers the theoretical issues of male-female interactions, gender and kinship systems, political economy and ethnopolitics. The book includes a lengthy section analysing women's economic activities.

45. Richards, Audrey I. (1956) Chisungu: A girl's initiation ceremony among the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia. London: Faber & Faber Ltd. 224pp.

This is an account of Bemba society and culture with a detailed description and interpretation of the chisungu ceremony. Women play an important role in Bemba society for they bring husbands to the village, and descent is recorded through them: they assure the village's population and the continuation of lineages. Women are honoured for bearing and raising many children and for their courage in childbirth. They are admired for their industriousness and resourcefulness in collecting food from the bush. Bemba women have a high status in the

society and thus are even able to plead their own cases in courts of law.

Younger women, however, are expected to accept the domination of older ones. They are taught to please their husbands and are responsible for giving them sexual pleasure. Chisungu emphasizes this latter role. Chisungu aims to turn girls into women, and those in charge of the ceremony believe that supernatural changes occur during the ceremony, in the transition from a girl to a fertile woman. Girls who have gone through chisungu have a changed status: they may enter the company of the leading women, gradually rising in the hierarchy of possible mistresses of the ceremony, banacimbusa.

During the ceremony the girls are not instructed in sex and motherhood. It is assumed that they would have had knowledge of these before puberty. Instead, they are taught the secret terms and language of marriage and taboos of married life. They receive lessons in the socially approved attitudes of a wife, housewife and mother. They are instructed to be submissive to their husbands, are told how to distribute food to the family and are taught how to exchange gifts. But the ritual also stresses what women should expect from their husbands: the latter have a duty to feed and clothe them while both the wife and husband have domestic, agricultural and sexual obligations to each other.

46. Turner, V.W. (1953) Lunda rites and ceremonies. The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, No. 10, pp. 335-388.

There are two types of Lunda ritual: the life crisis and the affliction rituals. The life crisis rituals are important for the physical or social development of an individual at birth, puberty or death. The three life crisis rituals described are the boys' circumcision ceremonies, girls' puberty ceremonies and funeral rituals. These three are occasions for public gathering whereas other life crisis ceremonies are feted with small intimate groups. The rituals of affliction concern Lunda religious life. They deal with misfortunes in hunting, with women's reproductive disorder and with various illnesses associated with the action of spirits of deceased relatives. There are three cults to correspond with the three areas of affliction: the hunting cults, performed by and for men; the fertility cults, performed for women; and the curative cults, performed by both sexes.

Satisfactory sexual performance and motherhood seem to be the values which underline the life crisis ritual for women. Nkang'a is performed at the girl's initiation. The ritual is

aimed at preparing her adequately for her role as wife and mother. During nkang'a the girl is secluded from the community to concentrate on her lessons. She learns and practises dances and is instructed in sexual matters since her husband would wish her to be first and foremost a pleasing sexual partner. She receives lessons in childbirth and child rearing. She is to be civil to her husband at all times. She is taught to be a hard worker particularly in the gardens and to be polite and hospitable to her husband's guests and relatives. The duration of the seclusion period depends on various factors such as the bridegroom's plans, the initiate's physical and sexual maturity obtained during seclusion and the amount of food and beer available for the coming-out dance. Marriage usually follows soon after the coming-out ceremony.

There are four types of rituals performed for women with reproductive disorders: nkula, for excessive flow of blood at menstruation; wambwangu, when a woman expects or has had twins or if there is fear of sterility; isoma, for a woman who has had a number of stillbirths or miscarriages, and chihamba, performed for sickness as well as for reproductive disorders in both males and females. The doctor for each ritual is a man even though they are women's rituals.

Holding a ritual is expensive in terms of cash, time and labour. The doctor and his female assistants need food and beer. Moreover, the woman goes into seclusion for the duration of the ritual which may last several months during which time she is not to work, thus depriving the family of her economic services.

47. White, C.M.N. (1953) Conservatism and modern adaption in Luvale female puberty rituals. Africa, Vol. 23, pp.15-24.

The article gives a short description of the Luvale female puberty ritual and determines how existing influences have affected the rite. Traditionally the rite was bound to marriage and the double duties of a mature woman: fertility to continue her matriliny, and good wifely qualities to provide satisfaction to her husband in the home and garden. These aspects of the ritual have much less significance for the younger generation than for the older. Young women are no longer interested in cooking for a large number of visitors nor do they want to cultivate large gardens of millet or cassava. They prefer to have a garden of groundnuts which has a high market value. They feel that the rite is "a training school in sexual competence" emphasizing their sexual duties only whereas they want opportunities for improving their economic situations as well.

48. Zambia National Archives. BS2/203. Lenje, Batema and Benamukuni. 1906-1907.

In circular No. 1 of 1906, "History of the Local Native Tribes", F.V. Worthington, Secretary for Native Affairs, Kalomo, requests a complete history and full description of the customs and practices of native tribes. A response from Acting Collector, Malambe, Kafue, offers information on the Batema.

One custom is the chisungu where following two days of seclusion a girl is carried to her future husband's hut. Another custom concerns birth. When a female child is born, villagers gather outside the mother's hut. Women sing while the men play the drums. The mother brings out her husband's gun, if he has one. This is fired into the air by one of the dancers. The idea is to charm away evil spirits. No ceremony occurs at the birth of a male child. The ceremony emphasizes the role of women as the chief producers of food and perpetuators of the lineage of productive labour.

See also 3, 7, 9, 18, 23, 24, 67, 70, 76, 77, 79, 80, 84, 90, 92, 95, 112, 113, 120, 126, 127, 142.

IV. PRODUCTION

49. Brelsford, W.V. (1946) Fisherman of the Bangweulu swamps: a study of the fishing activities of the Unga tribe. Livingstone: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. (The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 12) 169pp.

For the Unga, life centres on fish. Fish is important in the diet, it can be exchanged for other food items and it is the people's main source of cash. In this monograph Brelsford describes various aspects of fishing. He looks at the fishes' breeding habits; at tenure, choice and rights in fishing grounds; at the implements and methods employed; and at the rituals and medicines used in fishing. Men dominate the fishing activity, but women play their part symbolically and as minor catchers.

The Unga give their fishing nets nicknames. The nets can be named after any village character, a maternal mother-in-law, a mythical or troublesome woman. It is believed that the net might create trouble for the fish if named after a troublesome woman. When women fish, they use hand baskets and their catch is always for the kitchen. By contrast, the men's catch is almost always for sale or is used in exchange for other commodities. Bigger catches enabling sales or exchange are made from fishing camps. Women and children do not visit the camps unless these have been purified, otherwise, it is believed, catches would be adversely affected. However, after purification women may take food to their husbands.

Limited agriculture is practised on the islands by hoe cultivation. Both men and women participate but as men are away fishing for long periods, women perform most of the agricultural tasks.

50. Hedlund, Hans. (1980) Small farm development on the periphery: a study of two chiefs' areas in the Eastern Province of Zambia. Lusaka: Rural Development Studies Bureau, University of Zambia. 60pp. plus tables.

This is the report of a survey undertaken in 1973-1974 by the Eastern Province Intensive Development Programme. The survey was jointly sponsored by the government and the Swedish International Development Authority. Chikuwe and Sayiri Chieftaincies in Chipata District were selected in order to compare their land tenure and settlement patterns, agricultural production and infrastructure. A second aim was to show some

of the contradictions between old and new economic practices and to illustrate that these areas cannot be understood in terms of a dual economy theory but as integrated parts of a centre-periphery structure.

Exchange either for cash or labour occurs most commonly through beer parties which traditionally coincide with ceremonial occasions. Brewing occurs among the poorer households which have limited access to resources for agricultural production. The majority of these households are female-headed. In Chikuwe area 34 per cent of the households are headed by women, in Seyiri the figure is 25 per cent. This suggests that here is a higher male emigration in the former. Seyiri has greater economic opportunities as there is a higher percentage of cattle ownership and ox-cultivation there. Nevertheless, both areas have a significant rate of male emigration. Thus a large number of women are not only engaged in domestic duties but also carry out the heavy task of cultivation. Women are in a vulnerable economic situation. What little money wives receive from their migrant husbands has little impact on their social and economic condition. In addition, they continue to experience the social insecurity occasioned by long absences of their husbands, absences which often lead to marital instability and divorce.

51. Jiggins, Janice. (1980) Female-headed households: Mukubwe sample, Kabwe Rural District. Occasional Seminar 3. Rural Development Studies Bureau, University of Zambia. (mimeo) 7pp.

This short report examines the composition of female-headed households, their sources of cash income, the implements available to them and the organization of labour. The 1969 Census of Population and Housing shows that female-headed households predominate in agricultural areas. However, in Mukubwe, the focus of the study, fishing rather than agriculture is the dominant activity. Of the 67 households interviewed, 11 (16 per cent) were female-headed, in all cases by widows or divorcees. The households comprised single families and grandchildren of both sexes. Three included adult males. The ages of the heads ranged from 38 to over 70 years and none of them had attended school. They derived a higher income, US$17.00 - 242.00 per year, from the sale of sweet and strong beer than they did from the sale of agricultural produce, which realized only US$1.70 - 14.00 per year. Many of the households were not self-sufficient. Some depended on their kin (brothers, sons, married daughters and mothers) for implements; others shared their implements and cultivated co-operatively.

52. Jiggins, Janice. (1980) Female-headed households: Mpika sample, Northern Province. Occasional Seminar 5, Rural Development Studies Bureau, University of Zambia. (mimeo) 15pp.

Nineteen households were divided into three related kin-groups based on matrilocal and matrilineal residence. Food and tool sharing occurs within kin-groups, from the elder to the younger generation and also between siblings. The availability of labour is important in societies where traditional agriculture is done by the system of citemene. Labour traditionally derives from marriage and lineage ties and enables the community to become self-sufficient in basic foodstuffs. Male migration has affected all subsistence people especially widows and divorcees. Generally women are unable to carry out the citemene system, the first stage of which is usually performed by men. Women therefore turn to less nutritious staples or cultivate by less satisfactory methods. This has meant greater effort on their part, a reduction in the cultivated area, and an increase in the types of relish grown in order to maintain a nutritious diet.

When the government re-grouped villages and encouraged the growing of maize as a cash crop, poverty rose among the poorer subsistence farmers of the Central and Northern Provinces. Socio-economic differentiation increased: some of the poor subsistence farmers were reduced to "sub-subsistence" levels, and women were forced to seek piecework.

Among the subsistence cultivators, female-headed households tend to be the poorest, to have fewer resources and to suffer from malnutrition. Household heads are either divorcees or widows. Divorcees are usually in their 30s or 40s, and their households include adolescent or adult children and/or sisters, some of whom have had some schooling. Some divorcees have been re-incorporated into their matrilineal groups and obtain assistance from the source. Widows experience greater difficulties as they are on the whole older and do not have much household labour to fall back on. They are themselves too old to perform most tasks, a problem aggravated by their possessing fewer labour-saving implements.

53. Kapila, Japhet. (1978) Women in agricultural history: the case of the Lamba of Ndola Rural. Student research paper, History Department, University of Zambia. 20pp.

Economic planners and historians concerned with rural development have neglected the role of women in agriculture. The Lamba women of Ndola Rural District, Copperbelt Province, played a vital role in agriculture, especially in the colonial era when many males migrated to the mining areas and to towns

in search of wage employment. The author uses oral, archival and secondary sources to show the significant role Lamba women played in agriculture.

The Lamba were a hunting and agricultural people. Land was allocated to both men and women but in essence belonged to the women. In the husband's village a wife could have a separate garden from her husband's. In theory because the land belonged to her, she could dispose of the produce as she wished. In practice, however, she used her produce for family consumption while the husband grew tobacco or other crops in his garden for sale. A division of labour along sex lines was observed. Men were vital in starting new gardens since they felled trees. Women gathered and burned the branches and were responsible for planting, weeding and harvesting.

Colonial rule and the expansion of the copperbelt brought about other and significant changes in the women's position. Women attempted to redirect their efforts to growing vegetables for the expanding urban market. Men went into charcoal buring. But most importantly many husbands migrated to urban centres in search of wage employment. This depleted the labour force and left most women without males to expand gardens for them. Some overcame this difficulty by hiring male labour through beer parties. The majority simply over-cropped their gardens. All this led to a deterioration of women's position in agriculture.

The situation was aggravated by government polies which ignored women in their efforts to provide agricultural skills to peasants. Officials felt that since women's produce was for domestic consumption it was not worth government money and effort. After 1945 government involvement with peasant agriculture grew. It gave assistance in the form of land allocations, technical skills, loans and marketing as well as by emphasizing cash crops and food crops required by the urban employers. All these efforts were directed towards men.

54. Kay, George. (1964) Chief Kalaba's Village: a preliminary survey of economic life in an Ushi village, Northern Rhodesia. Manchester: Manchester University Press. (The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. 35). 92pp.

This survey consists of a description of the physical and human setting of the village, the use of the villager's time and an examination of some aspects of living standards. During agricultural work in the wet season there is no division of labour between the sexes. Men and women of each household work together in the fields. Tobacco is regarded as

the man's sphere, although some women assist in the fields. Weeding is mostly done by women, but since men do about a quarter of it, the author argues that it "cannot be dismissed as the women's sole responsibility". By contrast, a clear division exists in the dry season. Harvesting, collecting and piling branches for the chitemene gardens is designated as women's work, although this division of labour is flexible.

For the average number of hours worked by men and women, a survey revealed that women over 45 years of age did more work than men in the same age group. Younger men and women did much less work than their elders but on the whole the women were more industrious, working an average of 9.2 to 9.3 hours per day while men worked 5.7 to 6.6 hours. This did not take into account the hours men spent on political and social tasks.

In addition to their agricultural activities, women's daily duties include the gathering of wild foods. They assist in construction or repair work, and those without males to help them do their own. Women handle all domestic chores including food preparation. They make clay pots.

Men collect honey and edible insects; they hunt and go into wage labour; they make handicrafts. Jointly with women, they fish and erect and repair buildings. Clearly women contribute much more than men to the village economy. There are certain times of the year when village men are underemployed, but the same can never be said of women.

55. Lancaster, Chet S. (1976) Women, horticulture and society in sub-Saharan Africa. American Anthropologist, Vol. 78, No. 3, pp. 539-564.

Lancaster's main interest here is to assess the relationship of simple subsistence horticulture to social structure. Examples are taken from much of sub-Saharan Africa and Central and North America, but the main argument springs from the author's study of the Goba of the Zambezi Valley in Zambia. He argues that in those societies practising simple agriculture, women have not participated as fully as men in the sphere of the prestige or political economy. This is because women are concerned with the daily problems of subsistence. Even the religious sphere, where they seem to have some power, is concerned with ensuring subsistence requirements. To strengthen his argument, he distinguishes subsistence production from "production". At the level of subsistence production, or horticulture, the economic base does not influence important decision-making processes. But as horticulture shifts to agriculture, and as societies become more involved with the

wider world through, for example, wage labour, men start to involve themselves in 'production'. At this stage agriculture becomes part of the political economy dominated by men with the result that women continue to hold no power outside the domestic sphere.

Lancaster also associates changing lineage and residential patterns with the developments noted above. At the level of subsistence horticulture, matriliny and uxorilocal bride-service tend to dominate. As shifts occur to the male dominated political economy there are changes towards patriliny, patrilocality and bridewealth payments.

56. Lancaster, Chet S. (1979) Battle of the sexes in Zambia: a reply to Karla Poewe. American Anthropologist, Vol. 81, pp. 117-119.

(See No. 60 for Poewe's rejoinder). Lancaster highlights three aspects regarding women in Goba society in Southern Zambia, which led him to the conclusions contained in his earlier article (No. 55). In 1967-1969, he lived among the Goba and observed that women dominated agricultural production; that residence was uxorilocal and descent recognized through the female line; that women dominated the ancestor cult; and that positional succession influenced a village's political economy. From this the conclusion might be that women were important in the Goba political economy. In fact they were not. Agricultural production fluctuated and was therefore unreliable. The flow of grain did not follow lines of influence and power, and local decision processes did not indicate that agriculture was important in the political economy and social structure. Second, women from the neighbouring viri-patrilocal Karanga worked as hard in cultivation but did not enjoy any higher status. Third, a general observation about Africa is that only about 15 per cent of societies depending on female subsistence cultivation are organized along matrilineal lines. He concluded from this that social structure was less likely to be influenced by unreliable land or extensive agriculture than by power in the decision-making processes of the society. Women did not take part in decision-making.

57. Mabeza, Ruvimbo M. (1977) The changing role of African women in development. M.A. dissertation, Clark University. 138pp.

Existing literature shows that women have worked hard in agriculture and as housewives and mothers. But they have been excluded from participating in what Mabeza calls the development process. Women can only fully do this if they have opportunities for wage employment; if they have access to educational facilities and to health and maternity services, and if they participate in administration and public life. Women's non-participation has led to a decline in their status.

Mabeza demonstrates how agricultural women have been excluded from the development process by studying women in Mumbwa District. Both the colonial and post-colonial governments assisted male farmers only. The government gives male peasant farmers financial loans, helps them with new technology and techniques and organizes marketing for them. Women have continued to use their traditional tools and methods. The peasantry have also become stratified into a few large farmers, medium or transitional farmers and small producers. Women in the first category have become excluded from decision-making relating to production because they do not have economic power. Farmers in this category are sufficiently mechanized not to require their wives' labour. Government agencies have helped push women out of the decision-making process by conferring with men only. Those women in the second category, whose family farms are becoming mechanized, gradually find themselves excluded. Among small farmers, both men and women are marginalized. However, men have an advantage over women because they can go into wage employment. Religion and some of the people's own cultural practices such as polygamy have contributed to the declining status of women. However, from one case, Mabeza observed that single women have greater opportunities to participate in the development process than married women.

58. Muntemba, M. Shimwaayi. (1979) Women in agricultural change in the Railway Region of Zambia: dispossession and counterstrategies, 1930-1970. Women and Work in Africa, Symposium, Urbana-Champaign, Illinois, 29 April - 1 May. (mimeo) 22pp.

The paper examines the position of women in the area between Kalomo and Kabwe, historically known as the agricultural region of Zambia. It builds on an earlier paper which focussed on the Lenji (No. 119) and attempts to test some of the hypotheses set out in the Proposal (No. 141).

The period 1930-1970 saw unprecedented change in the country. The increasing rate of peasantization altered colonial and early colonial job distribution. Colonial and post-colonial policy was to ensure maximum agricultural production for export and feed the expanding mine labour force. To achieve this, the state became involved in agriculture. It disseminated modern technology and more efficient methods of production, gave loans to non-capitalized peasants and organized marketing. However, white settlers competed with peasants for scarce resources, they were later joined by the emerging local rural bourgeoisie. Thus the state gave very little assistance to peasants, and female peasants were most affected.

The colonial state did not associate women with farming, and the meagre education open to Africans concentrated on males. For these and other reasons women did not receive any help from the state. After Independence in 1964 this situation did not change much. Indeed there was a further shift in favour of men, whose productivity in agriculture rose absolutely and relatively to that of women. Women's productivity also increased, since peasant agriculture was labour-intensive and since the family unit relied predominantly on female labour. However, because men owned the implments and controlled the new knowledge, women became more dependent on them economically. By 1970 most female agriculturists were characterized by lack of or dependence on men for advanced implements and modern technical knowledge and by a lower standard of living than men.

59. Pala, Achola O. (1976) African women in rural development; research trends and priorities. Overseas Liaison Committee, American Council on Education, OLC Paper No. 12, Washington D.C. 35pp.

The role of women in pre-colonial economies and societies was extensive. In both agricultural and pastoral societies women performed certain tasks which fell to them through the division of labour by sex. The literature Pala surveyed reveals that women played a crucial role in production, being responsible for hoeing, weeding, harvesting and transporting crops home. They also processed and prepared food. She looks at how they organized their labour.

Since the inception of colonial rule their dominent role in agriculture has been gradually undermined, and rural development theorists have not made explicit proposals regarding women's work in modern agriculture. At the same time, extension services tend to exclude them, concentrating on training that does not promote their agricultural skills. Pala suggests two reasons for this. Historically women's production has been confined to small-scale food production and distribution for the home. But research and investment priorities have been directed towards large-scale export-oriented farms and mines. Second, the colonial and neo-colonial context precludes focussing on women's problems. The neglect of women also means loss of potential resources for production for national requirements.

The survey of women in production includes Zambia where Pala discusses the effects of labour migration on women and children. When men migrated to the urban centres, women were left with the agricultural work, but without the support to enable them to produce efficiently. This resulted in serious nutritional deficiencies for themselves and their children.

Pala concludes her discussion by suggesting priority areas for research on women in Africa.

60. Poewe, Karla O. (1979) Women, horticulture and society in sub-Saharan Africa: some comments. American Anthropologist, Vol. 81, pp. 115-117.

The writing is rejoinder to Lancaster's article (No. 56). Based on her work on the Luapula, Northern Zambia, Poewe accuses Lancaster of accepting a premise of "universal male dominance" and argues that matriliny is a political economy which in fact "minimises individual male control of power and resources". Matriliny implies perception of abundance and unrestricted access to resources and, therefore, no close control, whereas patriliny implies the converse. Whereas Lancaster argues that the prestige/cash economy tends to dissolve matriliny, Poewe's studies in Luapula showed the opposite. Both women and men follow parallel investment chains starting their ascent from horticulture and fishing respectively but both ending in the prestigious sphere where they make significant decisions. In Luapula, sections of the population tied to the wider economy through wage labour cling to matriliny. The author does not see bridewealth as necessarily leading to an emergence of patriliny. She conceives of patriliny and matriliny as generic terms for alternative ideologies to justify different kinds of distributive justice. Businessmen in Luapula use Protestantism to justify their changed behaviour. Businesswomen remain adherents of matrilineal ideologies precisely because these justify and enhance their control over the available resources.

61. Reynolds, Barrie. (1968) The material culture of the peoples of the Gwembe Valley. Manchester: Manchester University Press (Kariba Studies Vol. 3) 262pp.

Data for the book was collected in 1956 and 1957 from four chieftaincies of Mwemba, Chipepo, Simamba and Siponpo. The work addresses itself to aspects of material culture pertaining to the societies as a whole. But throughout is a description of the division of labour between men and women and of women's role in the society. Women do all the housekeeping and cooking. They carry out most of the agricultural work. They make pots and baskets for use in the home. They fish alongside their menfolk though "women's fishing is totally unspecialized." From about the age of seven children are given training tasks. Young girls prepare for their role by helping their mothers with their housework, working in gardens, pounding grain and doing all the other duties women perform in these societies.

62. Richards, Audrey I. (1939) Land, labour and diet: an economic study of the Bemba Tribe. London: Oxford University Press. 415pp.

This important book describes and analyses the composition of diet among the Bemba at various seasons of the year and examines preparation and distribution of meals. Richards also looks at food production, land tenure, labour organization and input, the place of ritual in the agricultural cycle and ownership and storage of produce. The role of chiefs and the controls they hold over land and labour are also discussed. She looks at other subsidiary economic activities such as hunting and fishing.

The theme of food production and diet of necessity addresses itself to the place of women. Women share some agricultural work with men, although the latter have ultimate control over the produce. Women carry the burden of food preparation and distribution. In a matrilocal system this particularly enhances the power of older women over younger ones and also over males. Food preparation is a long process so that women are often drained of their energy and occasionally do not prepare the most important meal of the day. This frequently happens during the busier agricultural period. The tasks associated with food production, processing, preparation and distribution are impressed upon women from an early age: it is important to do this in an area characterized by intermittent scarcity, by close kin co-operation in food preparation and distribution and by hospitality as an essential part of social life.

63. Spring, Anita & Art Hansen. (1979) Women's agricultural work in rural Zambia: from valuation to subordination. Agricultural Changes in Zambia since the late 1930s. African Studies Association Meeting, Los Angeles, 31 October 1979. 25pp.

The paper considers changes in agricultural production and participation and incomes of men and women. It focusses on the Luvale of Zambezi District in the North-Western Province. The Luvale are a matrilineal people whose economy is based on hoe agriculture and fishing. Fishing is dominated by men.

Traditionally, Luvale social and economic activities varied with the life cycle. The tasks and roles of Luvale women focussed on agricultural production, child-bearing and rearing and on ritual. Between the ages of 15 and 30, women worked at their agricultural production for subsistence, but they concentrated on adjusting to married life, on child-bearing and rearing. Between 30 and 40 they endeavoured to increase their agricultural production in order to create surpluses for sale. After 45 they became ritual specialists.

Luvale women had a fair access to land. They obtained this either direcly or through inheritance through their lineage. They could obtain land on request as gifts from brothers and uncles. The produce of these fields belonged to them in full. Women could also receive land from their husbands. The division of labour followed sex lines. A fair distribution of produce existed in male-headed households. The Luvale believed that both husband and wife had equal right to the harvested produce because of the complementary input of labour.

Since the 1930s the following features have characterized Luvale agriculture: a shifting cultivation of bush gardens or fields; a shortened fallow period and a more stabilized field use resulting from population increase; a mixture of crops cultivated in village gardens; and cultivation of streamline or seepage gardens. With more intensive agriculture, women's labour input has increased since they have to make mounds and there is more weeding to do.

Women's agricultural incomes have come from sale of groundnuts and cassava. However, stabilized cultivation is leading to poor cassava yields. Moreover, maize has emerged as the most important cash crop. Government subsidies and marketing facilities are directed towards maize. The position of women is further compromised in that only men enjoy government facilities. Women are being pushed more into subsistence cultivation only. By contrast male domination and control of the economy have been increasing, destroying the complementary roles which existed previously. Men no longer favour equal control and distribution of household produce. The meagre income women earn from minor agricultural sales and beer-brewing does not replace what has been lost. Divorced women who now lose all household goods to the husband find it difficult to regain their previous standard of living.

64. United Nations. ILO/SIDA (1975) Report on ILO/ECA/YWCA/SIDA workshop on participation of women in handicrafts and small industries, Kitwe, Zambia, 9-20 December 1974. Geneva: ILO.

The object of the workshop was to examine the problems confronting women in handicrafts and other small-scale industries in Africa. The participants discussed the need for loan and credit facilities, market areas and management and the recognition of women's potential contribution to economic and social development.

According to Mr. V.M. Lubasi's report, Zambia has no policy for promoting handicrafts and small industries. The Department of Cultural Services has put some handicrafts on sale at cultural villages; some crafts are preserved in the museums. Zambian laws do not restrict women from participation

in any industry, but only small numbers engage in this. A large proportion of the population is without formal education: women represent the majority in this category. Since they comprise almost half of the labour force there is need to encourage their participation particularly in these small industry areas. The Department of Community Development is trying to create awareness among women of alternatives to work in the kitchen. With some skills and encouragement women can participate in Zambia's economic development.

The Department of Co-operatives and the Zambia Co-operative Federation reviews the role of women in co-operatives and holds provincial and national seminars in an attempt to increase female involvement. The legislation of the co-operatives gives equal opportunity to both males and females although there is some question about dual membership of both husband and wife in the same co-operative.

65. Watson, William. (1958) Tribal cohesion in a money economy: a study of the Mambwe people of Northern Rhodesia. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 256pp.

Scholars continue to debate the social and economic effects of labour migration on rural areas, particularly on older people and women. Recent papers argue that migration depleted the necessary labour services provided by males; that it placed additional burdens on the remaining population, particularly women, while wages did not allow investable capital formation. Whatever came into rural regions was by way of perishable consumables; returning migrants did not have the necessary expertise for rural production.

In this book which covers other topics such as village organization and politics, Watson suggests that the Mambwe of northern Zambia profit from labour migration which has raised their living standards. Workers remit money to their families and bring necessities whenever they visit home in their cycle of migration in search of work. He proposes that the social and labour organization among the Mambwe safeguards women against excessive work and deprivation. In grassland areas, both men and women hoe in the fields and share most of the agricultural work; among the woodland people work is more specialized with jobs divided along sex lines as among other agricultural people. The Mambwe are a patrilineal people. When men migrate, remaining men take over the responsibilities of absent sons, brothers or cousins. Furthermore, village co-operative work parties form important production units. Women join these work parties, benefitting from this source of labour. However, women gain access to land through men who hold rights to it. On divorce or on presumed desertion by a

migrant husband who has not communicated for some years, a wife will lose her right to use his land.

There are other changes resulting from labour migration. When women visit their husbands or single women slip through the hands of custom and official policy, they develop a new sense of freedom which filters back to their rural base. Young women returning from the Copperbelt want to choose their own husbands, often those who can provide them with modern clothes and household goods.

66. White, C.M.N. (1973) The role of hunting and fishing in Luvale society. In E.P. Skinner (ed.), Peoples and Cultures of Africa. New York: Doubleday. pp. 122-142.

Among the Luvale, fishing contributes more to the diet and the economy than does hunting. Both men and women fish according to the methods applied. Both participate in bailing pools and poison expeditions. Special observances are connected with the method of fish poisoning. Sexual intercourse is forbidden and both men and women use magical charms to ensure success. Women alone use drag baskets, liyanga. A party of them form a line with their baskets touching. Another line of helpers drive the fish into the baskets from the opposite side. This is a high risk method for the basket users, some of whom are known to have been injured or killed by crocodiles. Younger girls fish with a hand line.

Women contribute to the supply of animal protein by digging up gerbil nests. However, medical people believe that the sporadic outbreaks of bubonic plague may be attributable to this since gerbils are known to harbour plague-carrying fleas.

See also 18, 28, 32, 40, 44, 71, 83, 106, 107, 108, 113, 119, 121, 140.

V. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND CHANGE

67. Barnes, J.A. (1951) Marriage in a changing society: a study in structural change among the Fort Jameson Ngoni. Cape Town: Oxford University Press (The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers No.20). 136pp.

Barnes looks at the evolution of the institution of marriage since the 1890s. The changing position of women in the institution is also discussed. Before the inception of colonial rule and other social and economic changes of the twentieth century, marriage involved the transfer of fertility from the woman's to the man's group. Bridewealth transmitted through cattle cemented this transfer. The woman was expected to be chaste, submissive in choice of a husband and fertile and faithful in marriage. Whereas the woman had no right to sue for a divorce, the man could divorce her simply by sending her to her home with a small present. Resistance to colonial rule and subsequent defeat depleted the Ngoni of their cattle. The matrilineal Cewa freely moved into Ngoni society and started to influence the latter's views of marriage as did Christianity. Labour migration also affected marriage.

Nowadays, because of many influences, fertility and chastity have lost their emphasis although children are still desired. Mutual obligations are still observed and emphasized. The husband must ensure that his wife is housed, fed and clothed. He provides her with a garden. For her part, the wife makes sure that the husband is fed. The husband has exclusive sexual rights over her and she pays compensation if she commits adultery. But the woman has no sexual rights over her husband and cannot sue for divorce on the grounds of adultery although she can on other grounds such as desertion.

Some men now live uxori-locally for part of their marriage. The woman's guardian has rights over the produce from her garden. Thus some men prefer to cultivate additional fields near their own homes. In such a situation the woman stays with her people when the husband goes into migratory labour. But most live viri-locally. Here, the wife remains with the man's group who guard her jealously and look out for any infidelity on her part. As long as her husband occasionally sends her money for clothes or writes to her, he is still considered good to her.

Women can hold property in their own right. Sometimes a husband honours a well-loved wife by giving her cattle.

Doubts exist, however, about the extent of women's property or their ability to increase it in this society characterized by labour migration, by the wife's domicile with the absent

husband's kin and by general underdevelopment. The subject needs further research.

68. Chaplin, J.H. (1962) Living and thriving in Northern Rhodesia. Africa. 32, 2. pp. 111-122.

Chaplin's study is taken from a model by G. Jahoda (1959) based on Ghana. The article studies letters written over a one year period approximately to the advice column of the newspaper. In both Ghana and Northern Rhodesia samples the majority of correspondents were young unmarried men with little more than basic education and living in urban areas. Chaplin lists the categories of correspondence as "threatened or broken relationship, approach to girls and romantic love, multiple entanglements, family interference, and miscellaneous". Under the category of miscellaneous were requests about educational opportunities, employment and medical advice. His section on "letters from women" reveals that these complemented those received from men. The author maintains that men and women living in urban settings have very little opportunity for receiving advice from older relatives in the rural areas, hence the popularity of the column. Another point is the problem of single women in obtaining advanced education and training. These women were few at the time of the study and were in great demand as potential wives for men with similar or higher educational backgrounds.

69. Chibesakunda, Lombe. (1971) The rights of divorcee under Statutory Law. Women's Rights in Zambia: Report of a Consultation. Kitwe: Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation. pp.53-58.

The author refers to the two legal systems in Zambia, statutory and customary, under which divorces may be granted. This paper is concerned with divorce under Statutory Law; it is based on English divorce law which includes grounds such as cruelty, insanity, adultery, desertion, sodomy, bestiality and rape. Alimony may also be granted. By the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1965 the Court is allowed to use its discretion in making the Order of Custody. The High Court and Subordinate Courts have jurisdiction over the cases. People may also marry and divorce under Customary Law. Cases under this law are handled by local courts.

70. Chipoma, Raymond B.C. (1980) The fertility behaviour and attitudes of rural Zambians, and their implications on the quality of life for a present and future generation. The University of Zambia: Child and Welfare Association for Students.

Although the government gives financial assistance to the Planned Parenthood Association, Zambia does not have a policy on family planning. This paper examines attitudes to fertility

of rural Zambians, their fertility behavioural patterns and the economic characteristics of fertility and child care practices. Research was conducted in nine rural districts and used 882 interviews. The outcome of the survey has led the author to urge the government and other agencies to make available family planning services and improve their quality in the rural areas of Zambia.

Chipoma found instances of premarital pregnancies and childbirth and argues that children born to unmarried mothers tend to be undernourished and neglected. Often single mothers send their children to be looked after by the girls' own mothers. But far from helping, the practice leads to a feeling of insecurity for the young mothers and children. The survey also revealed a higher proportion of separated, divorced or widowed women than men. This is because men remarry more easily than women. On their own, women seek to provide adequate food for their children from small plots. Women face psychological and day-to-day material hardships. The survey further showed that women more than men wanted fewer children. This results from the fact that they are more closely associated with problems of pregnancy, child birth and rearing. Men, on the other hand, view children as economic assets.

The research revealed that women attempt to use traditional contraceptive methods and seek abortions from local medicine men. This supports the survey's findings that women do not want to have more children than they are equipped to care for. The author argues, therefore, that the position and quality of life for women and children can be improved if sex education and modern contraceptives are made more easily available. However, he emphasizes the need to begin by eradicating the misconception that contraceptives lead to the deterioration of morals in the individual and the society.

71. Colson, Elizabeth. (1960) Social organization of the Gwembe Tonga. Manchester: Manchester University Press (Kariba Studies No.1). 256pp.

In this book, Colson studies the Gwembe Tonga in 1956-1957, before their resettlement following the building of Kariba Dam. Her ethnographic study covers property, land, labour, social and domestic organization and political and religious aspects. She then examines the process and effects of resettlement. Although they are not consolidated in any single section, her perceptive observations on women throughout the book provide a valuable picture of their changing position.

Women may own property - cattle, land and smaller items - in their own right, but they are generally disadvantaged in comparison to men. They own fewer cattle and other livestock. Women are dependent on men for land. From the lineage leaders or kinsmen a woman may receive gardens on which she has security and over which she has some disposal rights. She may be given land by her father which may be subject to repossession. From her husband she may receive land over which he or his lineage retains substantial control. The woman has no disposal rights and may lose access to it on his death; he may dictate the use she makes of it. Colson predicts that, with resettlement, women will initially lose most of their rights in land which will be allocated to individuals, particularly men, and no provision will be made for lineage control. Land is the key to the degree of independence women may have.

Men perform agricultural work on a seasonal basis, while women work virtually the year round in their own fields and in their husbands'. Their labour generates most of the agricultural produce. However a woman alone can only produce enough to feed herself. She can produce a surplus only if she has a husband or grown children to help. Most surplus is produced by polygynous households.

Unmarried women control their own produce. In monogamous and polygamous marriages, wives have their own individual granaries which store the produce from their fields. Husbands control larger granaries to which access may only be had with general or specific permission and after the wife's supplies are exhausted. There are frequent disputes about food sharing.

Since agriculture is not a source of independent income for them, women have relied on other sources. They do occasional agricultural labour for larger cultivators or tobacco farmers on the plateau and may even become migrant labourers leaving their husbands at home. The most common way of earning an income is by brewing beer. Beer began to be sold in 1950: in one area men argued that this was untraditional and organized a boycott, but women refused to supply free beer. By 1956 the sale of beer was an established fact. Income earned in these ways is entirely under the wife's control.

In family life, Colson notes the increase in elopements, a trend which is encouraged by fathers who can thus obtain damages as well as bridewealth for their daughters. She also notes the decreasing incidence of child betrothal, owing to the fact that it was declared illegal. Within the family, the wife is subject to her husband, but does not accept the authority of other males in the household. Jealousy and friction between co-wives is common. Divorce is not uncommon and may be initiated by husbands or wives. On

divorce, a husband retains his rights to children although young children usually reside with the mother.

72. Colson, Elizabeth. (1971) The social consequences of resettlement: the impact of the Kariba Resettlement upon the Gwembe Tonga. Manchester: Manchester University Press (Kariba Studies No.4). 277pp.

This book represents a 1962-1963 follow up of the 1956-1957 study (No.71) and illustrates how the Gwembe Tonga responded to the post-Kariba resettlement. The first three chapters recount the history of the dam and of the resettlement programme, while later chapters focus in turn on kinship relations, family relations, economic, political and religious changes.

In the early years of resettlement (1957) women were ignored by the officials responsible for resettlement on the assumption that men did not need their labour or that they would do what their husbands told them. Women, however, asserted their transitional rights by refusing to be compelled to work away from home.

Resettlement brought some benefits to younger women and girls in the form of greater freedom, less work, less family control and greater educational opportunities. This contrasts with the fate of women married before or shortly after resettlement.

In case of pre-settlement marriage, Colson notes but two factors at play to keep husbands and wives together: lack of mobility for women after divorce because of their need to remain near their own land, and kin-group pressure. She had earlier predicted a rise in divorce rates after resettlement on the grounds that women would lose their rights to land and that the coherence of the lineage would be reduced. In fact divorces did not greatly increase after resettlement, which the author attributes to continued kin-group pressure against divorce. Kinsmen did not want to have to care for a divorcee, build her a hut or prepare her fields at a time of general crisis. Moreover, husbands and wives needed each other's support at that time.

Marriages contracted after resettlement showed some change. Although the localized 'marriage pools' were quickly reorganized according to the new residential arrangements, women were now able to marry outsiders who came in contact with them, and male migrants could bring back 'foreign' wives. A shortage of potential wives was caused by a decline in females of marriageable age and by the persistence of polygyny. This led to increased competition for women and to wife-stealing, giving wives greater potential freedom from a particular husband.

Paradoxically, however, resettlement brought an increased subordination of women. Only a minority of women were considered independent by virtue of land-holdings: the majority now derived their land directly from their husbands, who often required them to work harder than before. They had to concentrate on the husband's field rather than their own if he was an ambitious cultivator. Subordination was greatest in the community of Chezia where the largest acreages of resettlement land were available: men increasingly claimed produce from the women's fields, especially if it was used for brewing or for sale. Increased drinking transformed this friction into frequent violence and long absences.

Women reacted to this situation on an individual basis, not seeing themselves as an exploited group. They resorted to separations, flight or divorce. A few young women began by choice to adopt the nabutema way of life - the mature single mother who had lovers but no husband. The few prostitutes all came from Chezia, the area of greatest female exploitation.

Some changes in life style also affected women. 'Modern' fashions spread, and the traditional pubertal extraction of upper incisors declined. Women's dominance in the masabo possession cult continued, although modern modifications were observed.

73. Cutshall, Charles R.N.D. (1979) The role of women in local disputing among the Ila of Zambia. (mimeo) 22pp.

The paper traces the evolution of a local judicial system in relation to the use and processes of settling various forms of disputes involving women. Cutshall argues that by the 1970s women preferred to take their cases to these courts instead of having them settled locally or residentially, because they felt they would receive a more sympathetic hearing. Evidence suggests that in cases such as assault which do not involve property or loss of labour resource, this is generally the case. In divorce cases which involve return or loss of bridewealth and exploitable labour, women plaintiffs lose in the majority of cases. The outcome of cases is also influenced by the political environment which involves men only. Since divorce disputes are between husband and father-in-law, with the woman acting as chief witness only, political conflicts between men which may include court justices can prejudice results against women.

74. Darlow, Mary. (1955) The African towns-women in Northern Rhodesia African Women, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 57-59

In this short article Darlow looks at the way of life of townswomen which differs from that in villages. Women in towns depend on a cash economy, have no gardens and live in small family units. To help them adjust to their new life, welfare centres and religious groups teach them sewing, knitting, cooking, budgeting, child care, hygiene, reading and singing. In some centres husbands are invited to view their wives' work and to test their cooking.

75. Gluckman, Max. (1950) Kinship and marriage among the Lozi of Northern Rhodesia and the Zulu of Natal. In A.R. Radcliffe-Brown & D. Forde (eds.), African systems of kinship and marriage. London: Oxford University Press. pp. 166-206

In both Lozi and Zulu society the area in which men and women can associate is limited. They sleep together, produce children and form an economic unit, but in their social and public life the contacts are very limited. The husband has the right to claim damages from the offending man in an adultery case and in a broader sense marriage gives the husband control over his wife's movements. Both Lozi and Zulu families are economic units. The husband provides his wife with land for gardens, feeds her from his garden or fishing sites and gives her a hut and clothing. According to the Lozi land tenure system, the man has rights to land while the wife provides the required labour. As a result both have equal rights to crops, which they can share in the event of a divorce. The Lozi marry for sexual satisfaction, to produce children and to secure an economic partner. They do not marry for companionship. This also applies in general to the Zulu.

Marriages among the Zulu, however, are far more stable and suspicions of adultery less common. Divorce among the Lozi can be easily obtained by either partner, although the process is more tedious for the woman. A Lozi man seeking divorce simply sends the wife back to her village, but a woman must obtain hers through the court unless she can persuade the husband to divorce her. Thus Lozi women have very little security in marriage. By contrast divorce among the Zulu is almost unknown and Gluckman concludes that on the whole patrilineal societies have a lower divorce rate than matrilineal ones.

76. Gluckman, Max. (1955) The judicial process among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 286pp.

The author analyzes 60 cases relating to social life and its organization that were tried in Lozi courts. Some cases emphasise the different social positions of men and women. In cases of adultery, the offending man pays damage fees to the husband while the woman pays a fine to the court. The man pays more than the woman in order to discourage collusion between spouses by which wealth could be obtained from the wife's lover. The wife cannot enter a claim against her husband for adultery. A man can divorce at any time, but a woman must establish a case for divorce at the courts. A wife is under the control of her husband and his ancestral spirits.

Furthermore, a man can have more than one wife and may have intercourse with unmarried women, but the wife must remain faithful to her husband. According to Lozi men, "prostitution is a vice of women" and not a product of social conditions. Whereas her clients are protected against exploitation, the prostitute does not have the protection of the law. Immorality is blamed on the licentiousness and greed of women who seduce men, women also being responsible for the increase in the divorce rate, for adultery and for premarital pregnancies. These male attitudes toward women influence Lozi morality and principles of natural justice. For although by customary rules mothers, sisters, aunts and daughters may occupy powerful positions, in reality they are in legal tutelage. Although there are female rulers, no women sit in the courts.

77. Harries, Lyndon. (1953) Christian marriage in African society. In A. Phillips (ed.), Survey of African marriage and family life. London: Oxford University Press.

In Northern Rhodesia women objected to the registration of marriages. They feared that if the marriage was registered it would interfere with their "native custom" and make marriage more binding. Under customary law a husband is obliged to serve the wife's family. Failure of the husband to serve can release the wife's family from responsibility for adultery and allow the wife to be married to someone else. The missions and the government are attempting to find a compromise for the validity of marriages.

78. Jackman, Mary Elizabeth. (1973) Recent population movements in Zambia: some aspects of the 1969 Census. Zambian Papers No. 8. Tables, maps.

Based on the Census of Population and Housing taken in 1969, this paper analyses population movements in Zambia, population distribution and changes between 1963 and 1969, the general pattern and trends of migration and the sex, age and education of migrants. In general migration rose along the central and northern lines of the railroad while the population in rural districts dropped. The increase on the Copperbelt and in Lusaka was from the Northern, Luapula and Eastern Provinces. There was a high ratio of males to females on the Copperbelt before Independence in 1964. Between 1963 and 1969 this ratio was reduced as wives joined their husbands in the mine townships. According to this report, the presence of wives has contributed to the rapid growth of the towns and may have resulted in stabilising the urban population. In the Western Province many men worked in the mines in South Africa while the women stayed in their home areas.

79. Keller, Bonnie B. (1978) Marriage and medicine: women's search for love and luck. African Social Research, No. 26, pp. 489-505.

When unskilled married women move to towns, they lose their role as subsistence cultivators and become economically dependent on their husbands. This dependency influences the way they perceive their relationships with men and the various strategies they use to improve their economic security within marriage. They try to create a source of income through small-scale trading such as sale of cooked foodstuffs, garden vegetables, charcoal and fresh or dried fish. Sales are conducted either from their homes or from public places. Some women have given up their trading business because husbands would appropriate the profits.

In marital crises women appeal to the local court on grounds that their husbands have not provided the family with such necessities as food and clothing. The court usually warns the husband to provide more adequately; if this recurs several times however, the court may grant a divorce. Usually women are then even more economically dependent, unless they remarry or return to their rural homes.

The women's strategy described in detail is the use of indigenous medicines to establish stable marriages in which they can feel economically secure. Indigenous medicines are used throughout Zambia, but Keller focusses on the Tonga-speaking majority of Mazabuka. Medicines are believed to influence

behaviour. Women use them to retain their husbands' love and therefore their financial support, or they use them during marital crises. Men too use medicines either to make conquests or to increase their potency and virility. Some people believe that medicines are more commonly used today than in the past. This can be attributed partly to the increasing mobility of the population and to the acquisition of medicines from other ethnic groups. Moreover, in marital crises, townswomen are not surrounded by elders who provide advice and resolve difficulties. Thus young women, left on their own to handle their marital insecurities, turn to the use of medicines.

80. Keller, Bonnie B. (1979) Marriage by elopement. African Social Research, No. 27, pp. 565-585

During the last three decades a new phenomenon, elopement, has become common in Mazabuka town as elsewhere in southern Zambia. It is a way of establishing a domestic union without prior negotiation between families and without prior payment of bridewealth. It is more commonly practised by the Tonga, although people from other ethnic groups are gradually adopting it.

Modern parents have come to appreciate the monetary value of elopement marriages: when a man elopes with a woman, he either sends a negotiator or the woman's parents sue him for compensation. Parents demand high compensation according to the "value" of the woman, measured by virginity and whether she has eloped or been married before. Women themselves often elope willingly in the hope that marriage will result: in this society, marriage is still considered the ideal state by every woman, and unmarried women are not held in respect. However, elopement does not always lead to marriage. Some men use elopement to establish temporary sexual relationships and enjoy other services from the woman. Women whose relationships do not result in marriage are considered "second-hand" or "used". This reduces their chances of subsequent marriage.

While society condones elopement, the courts do not sanction it. Instead, they consider such unions illegal. Women therefore have custody over children born to an eloped couple. Legality is based on payment of bridewealth. Where partial payment has been made, the man may gain custody after seven years. Many women, however, are not aware of this legal right.

81. Lancaster, Chet S. (1974) Brideservice, residence and authority among the Goba (N. Shona) of the Zambezi Valley. Africa, Vol. 44, No. 1, pp. 46-64.

This paper considers the social organization of the Goba of Southern Zambia by exploring the brideservice system and its impact on patterns of marriage, residence and authority. Although the initial approach may be made directly to the girl by the suitor, and she might be interested, the final decision rests with the father. If he accepts, the next symbolic act, payment of tsambo, is performed between the two fathers with the couple acting as intermediaries. After this the suitor takes up residence in the father-in-law's village to begin his brideservice. The couple must not co-habit until such time as the father permits. With increasing opportunities for wage employment, most men seek wage labour to complete the many prestations that need to be paid before the marriage is fully valid, a process which may take 20 years or more. Sometimes a marriage is dissolved before the man finishes making his payments. This trend has been on the increase, particularly in modern times when the male-dominated courts have made the process and fees for gaining patri-affiliation much simpler.

Because of the high rate of labour migration (65 per cent in 1967-1969), younger women tend to follow the men either through elopement or by accompanying male relatives. This periodically deprives parents of their daughters' labour. The rate of female migration drops after the age of 30 when the burden of child-bearing and rearing begins to place constraints on mobility.

Brideservice still forces a substantial number of men to reside in their wives' villages. Because of the constraints this places on them - the father-in-law's and wife's kin-group's authority - some men prefer to marry kinswomen and thus reside in their own villages. In relation to authority, the man remains under that of his in-laws or his father until completion of the payments and final removal to his own kin's village. The woman too remains under the authority of her parents until the final payment is made, well in her 30s. Thereafter she removes to the husband's matrikin village where she remains under his and his kin's authority.

From this it would appear that women in Goba society do not gain full recognition as independent members of the community, capable of participating in important community issues until well past their prime, perhaps when their single status is regained through divorce or widowhood. Lancaster has put male life span at 50 and female at 53. The years during which they can influence society are very few indeed.

82. Lehmann, Dorothea. (1961) Marriage, divorce and prostitution of African women in a changing society. Marriage and the Family. Report of the Annual Conference, Rhodesian Council of Social Services. pp. 27-35.

Urban marriages during the 1950s in Northern Rhodesia had changed considerably since the early writings in the 1930s and early 1940s of Audrey Richards and Godfrey Wilson. Since then people have adjusted to urban conditions by adopting new patterns of marriage instead of continuing with their traditions.

Urban conditions have restricted the customary negotiations between the two family groups of the marrying couple. The traditional exchange of labour and gifts has taken on the nature of a commercial transaction. Other urban phenomena are "pick-up marriages" which are often of short duration and do not necessarily lead to a customary legal marriage. Polygamy is considered old-fashioned in the urban setting because it does not fit in with the local economics. Divorce is more frequent in urban areas and in the majority of cases it is the woman who petitions for divorce. There is little professional prostitution. However, some husbands regard their wives' adulteries as a source of additional income. This is because they can claim damage payments. Many factors such as urban individualism, cash economy and the departure from tradition with regard to taboos and other restraints are responsible for unstable marital relationships in towns.

83. Long, Norman. (1968) Social change and the individual. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 257 pp.

Field research for the book was conducted in the Soranje District between 1963 and 1964. The author seeks to analyze those factors affecting social and economic change in the immediate pre-Independence period and makes observations that relate to women.

Under the citeme system, there is a definite division of agricultural labour between the sexes. The physical work of felling the trees is a male task, women are responsible for gathering and stacking the branches and for the harvest of millet. Sowing is a joint effort. A woman is usually aided by her close female matrikin at harvest time. This was the situation here before the plough.

The change from subsistence agriculture to the plough method and the introduction of Turkish tobacco as a cash crop have brought innovations to the organization of labour. In some cases instead of using matrikin to assist in the work, labourers are hired at a standard rate. Sometimes a farmer rewards his wife for the many years of labour she contributed by transferring ownership of a few head of cattle and some other farming implements to her. Frequently the wife passes these on to a uterine brother or other male matrilineal kin to hold for her in case of divorce. Women are not excluded from rights to the land and can cultivate their own gardens.

84. McCulloch, Merran. (1956) A social survey of the African population of Livingstone. Manchester: Manchester University Press (The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers No. 26). 86 pp.

This social survey provides data on the demographic composition of Livingstone and indicates to what extent Africans are becoming urbanized. It is based on the results of a statistical survey and on documentary evidence.

Males predominate over females in all age groups. One reason for this is that men migrating south or to the Copperbelt pass through Livingstone. These migrant labourers are usually young and some spend a year or so before proceeding. Livingstone has a smaller proportion of infants than the Copperbelt because the latter have a greater ratio of women to men.

Wives of unskilled labourers and domestics have fewer living children under 5 years than wives of skilled and white-collar workers. Nevertheless they express more positive attitudes toward remaining in town than do the wives of men in different occupations.

Unmarried women are normally only permitted in Livingstone if they have a responsible parent. Employment opportunities for women are negligible. Five women were found employed as nannies, domestic servants and factory workers. In most compounds, houses are allocated on the basis of jobs, making it difficult for unmarried women to find housing.

The survey found several women who own plots; they expressed the desire to remain in town.

85. Mair, Lucy P. (1969) African marriage and social change. London: Frank Cass. 171pp. Reprinted from A. Phillips. (ed.). Survey of African marriage and family life, Part 1 (1953). London: Oxford University Press.

Mair analyzes the evolution of African family life and marriage customs in Southern, East, Central and West Africa. Among the various ethnic groups in the section on Central Africa are the Ngoni, Tonga, Lala, Lamba, Bisa, Bemba, Lunda and Cewa of Zambia. Briefly described are the variations in customs relating to marriage, puberty rites, property rites, divorce, status of widows and more.

The impression women have of themselves is that their position in marriage is worse than before. Increased adultery and divorce have made marriage less stable. Some attribute this to the change in the system of "marriage payment": cash payment has replaced most previous forms of payment, with the result that marriage is now more of a business transaction than before. Absence of initiation ceremonies that taught young people about marital responsibilities and behaviour is another contributing factor. The urban environment is seen as a third cause.

Women feel that their economic position has deteriorated. Older generations have become dependent on younger people who can obtain employment in towns. Agricultural women like the Tonga have lost control over the products of their labour: Husbands may now sell grain to purchase whatever they desire.

86. Mitchell, J. Clyde. (1957) Aspects of African marriage on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia. Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, No. 22, pp.1-30.

Primarily concerned with the mode of contracting marriages in town and the changes which occur in marriage procedures as a result of the urban setting, the article makes some interesting revelations concerning women in urban areas before 1964. Conducted in Luanshya where the African population totalled 43,600 in 1951 Mitchell found that the sex ratio was relatively balanced with 142 men to 100 women. 63.9 per cent of the male population was married and living with wives; 61.6 per cent of the marriages of men and 54.8 per cent of women were remarriages.

In response to bureaucratic demand for documentary evidence of marriage, the courts give certificates if couples are sponsored by a relative. African and especially female recipients of bridewealth see in this a means to stabilize marriages. Despite all this, the African population is very transient while the urban regulations and economy places constraints on single townswomen. Women are often forced to go back to the rural areas between marriages.

87. Mitchell, J. Clyde. (1959) The women's place in African advancement. Optima, Vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 124-131.

Mitchell discusses the role of the wife in the "advancement" of an African husband in urban areas of southern Africa, including the Copperbelt of Zambia. He contrasts this role with that in traditional societies. In patrilineal societies the woman is prized because she produces children for the husband's kin-group. In matrilineal societies she bears children for her own group. In both, her reproductive role for the lineage, not for her husband individually, is the most important. As a member of a larger group, a woman has other roles as a mother, grandmother, sister or daughter. Women's activities include performing tasks such as food preparation and fetching water and, together with men, cultivating.

In town, the role of women as reproducers for men or for their own kin-group diminishes. They no longer perform some of the arduous tasks of village life. Their husbands' position is not determined by the part they play as members of the kin-group, but through personal achievement. It is Mitchell's view that the wife's role in this new world should be to help her husband "advance" his career. As many wives lack formal education, he sees the courses given by the mines' welfare centres to help them "become more efficient housewives" as one way through which wives will fulfil "their rights and obligations to their husbands".

88. Mitchell, J. Clyde. (1963) Marriage stability and social structure in Bantu Africa. International Population Conference Proceedings, New York, 1961. London. pp. 255-262.

This paper looks at three of the factors which affect marriage stability: personality factors, which can lead to incompatibility and separation; inter-ethnic marriages; and social systems. Mitchell's conclusions uphold Gluckman's hypothesis that patrilineal societies have a lower divorce rate than matrilineal ones (No. 75). His research, conducted on the Copperbelt, also reveals that marriages contracted in rural areas were more stable, as were those between couples of the same ethnic group. Part of the difficulty with urban marriages is that institutions which help to stabilize marriages in rural communities do not operate effectively in urban areas.

89. Mwanamwambwa, Catherine and Zenebeworke Tadesse. (1979) The situation of children in Zambia. Stockholm: SIDA. 102 pp.

During the International Year of the Child in 1979, SIDA published essays on children in India and five African countries: Zambia, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania and Angola. These essays consider the conditions and needs of children and explore various aspects of their lives such as education, school drop-outs, school production units, nutrition programmes, environment, food production and utilization and infant mortality and morbidity differentials.

In Zambia the division of labour and work input of women varies from region to region. In those rural areas where there is an absence of males, and especially in subsistence agriculture, women's work has increased. In addition to working in the fields and caring for their children, women haul water and firewood over long distances, store, process and prepare food and sell the little surplus they can spare. The change from millet to cassava cultivation occasioned by the absence of males has contributed to the rising incidence of malnutrition, because cassava has little nutritional value.

Urban women with secondary or higher education are able to find employment. Women who have little or no education participate in the informal sector by selling food items and retail goods. In neighbourhood markets, women bring with them the young children who still need much attention while the older children assist with sales.

90. Ndulo, Muna (1979) Liability of a paramour in damages for adultery in Customary Law. African Social Research, No. 28, pp.655-666.

Zambia has two systems of marriage laws, Customary Law and English Law. Customary Law varies from area to area and is unwritten. Women prefer marriage under statutory law because of the security it provides. It provides for a monogamous marriage and such benefits as alimony after divorce. Marriage under statutory law is mostly practised by the European community and by educated Africans. Some regard this type of marriage as prestigious and respectful while others feel it is progressive. Some Zambians who get married under statutory law still go through the formalities of customary laws such as acquiring the consent of the bride's parents and paying lobola or bridewealth.

Local courts hear customary law cases. Some adultery cases are settled out of court either by a mediator or a headmen, or just by agreement between the parties involved. Ndulo illustrates the action of damages for adultery under Customary Law and looks

at the need for legal reform. Among the possible reforms are that the wife should have the same right of action as her husband. At present the wife has no right of action. Even though the tendency in law is to treat both spouses as equals, it is argued that if the wife were granted a right of action, it would violate "the principles of polygamous marriage" where the husband has the right "to go out with unmarried women in anticipation of marriage".

91. Ohadike, Patrick O. (1975) The evolving phenomena of migration and urbanization in Central Africa: a Zambian case. In D. Parkin (ed.). Town and country in Central and Eastern Africa: Studies presented and discussed at the Twelveth International African Seminar, Lusaka, September 1972. London: International African Institute. pp 126-144.

Information came from a survey of households concerning members' place of birth, last permanent residence and personal characteristics. A stratified random sample was taken from low density areas, settled municipal suburbs, shanty towns and one peri-urban area. Some conclusions from the survey are listed here: most of the migrants have come to Lusaka since Independence; recent migrants have lived in other towns before moving to Lusaka; at present migrants move at an earlier age than in previous years; and more single females migrate to Lusaka than previously. Adult married females often migrated as economic dependents of their husbands. Traditional colonial administration discouraged the employment of females in towns and did not provide adequate housing for men to bring their wives and families to the cities.

Some females have found employment in Lusaka, but tradition still looks down on single women migrating to live alone and work in cities. The survey further shows that males travel longer distances than females. This will undoubtedly change when more opportunities become available to females. Migrants move to areas where employment and other opportunities are found.

92. Powdermaker, Hortense. (1956) Social change through imagery and values of teen-age Africans in Northern Rhodesia. American Anthropologist, Vol. 58, No. 5, pp.783-813.

The article discusses the traditional and modern elements in the Africans' values as revealed in their concepts of interpersonal relations, their fantasies of what they would like to be and their more concrete goals and ambitions. A survey

was conducted on the Copperbelt among teenage students between 12 and 17 years of age. They were given essays to write as part of their regular classroom work. The majority of female students wanted personal independence, privileges and wider opportunities. They wished to be African men. Girls also envied males for their "greater strength, bravery and power". Some of the female students wanted to return to the village where life was simpler, cheaper and more secure, but the majority wanted to live in town.

93. Powdermaker, Hortense. (1962) Copper Town: changing Africa. The human situation on the Rhodesian Copperbelt. New York: Harper & Row. 391pp.

The book looks at social change in the urbanizing social and economic environment of Luanshya, one of the copper mining towns of Zambia. Powdermaker examines various ethnic groups including whites. But her main interest lies in black mine workers and their families and the ways in which their institutions, values and attitudes change as a result of their social and economic situation. She discusses other influencing factors such as the job situation and various forms of media and analyses how the people adapt themselves.

Women formed an impressive percentage of the mine township's population: comprising 44.5 per cent of the adult population in 1951, the figure must have increased because of the stabilization policies of the 1950s. Women have had to adapt to changed situation and roles. Whereas in the rural setting they were economic partners with their husbands, now they depend on husbands who are the wage earners. The fact that women are unemployable has reinforced their dependency while the position of men in the home is being strengthened. The woman's role is confined to housekeeping and cooking, a restriction further encouraged by welfare programmes which only deal with sewing, cooking and homekeeping. The dissatisfaction of women in this respect is externalized by the fact that most mothers wish their daughters to go to school and later earn some money independently or be able to know how much their husbands receive. Women's social contacts have shifted from kin-groups (theirs or their husbands') to women from other parts of the country. Often this creates tensions which may end in quarrels or physical fights. Thus while on the one hand urban life has broadened their outlook, on the other the process of economic and therefore social dependency is becoming more entrenched.

94. Richards, Audrey I. (1940) Bemba marriage and present economic conditions. Livingstone: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers No. 4). 123pp.

The paper assesses the effect of the existing type of industrial development dominated by the labour migratory system on the family life of a matrilineal, matrilocal agricultural people who are then compared with patrilineal, patrilocal and pastoral people. Richards looks at the process of marrying, at termination of the contract and at marriage relationships. Among the Bemba marriage is primarily an economic and sexual partnership also designed for the procreation and rearing of children. The husband has economic obligations to his wife such as digging her a garden, building a house, making mats, providing relish and clothing her. The wife has to fulfil her share of agricultural work, cook and carry out other household chores.. Non-fulfilment of these may lead to divorce. Despite this partnership, the produce from the garden is considered the man's as are the clothes bought for the woman. Sexual obligations are also expected of both partners.

Generally the position of the women is lower because she does not participate in political and religious affairs. The matrilocal pattern of residence, however, gives her some measure of freedom compared to other societies. Once past child-bearing age, she ranks as man: she drinks and eats with them and has a number of ritual duties and privileges.

The family organization faces challenges from the system of labour migration, from missionaries and generally from white rule. Away in wage labour, men often reduce or fail in their familial obligations. Women from matrilocal societies are more secure as they are near their kin. Patrilocal groups have tighter control over women with migrant husbands.

Richards details other ways in which Bemba marriages have been affected by modern developments. She discusses the ways in which the Bemba have adapted their marriage institution to correspond with these developments, and those in which they have resisted change.

95. Roberts, Andrew D. (1970) The Lumpa Church of Northern Rhodesia. In R.I. Rotberg & A.A. Mazrui (eds.), Protest and power in Black Africa. New York: Oxford University Press. pp.513-568.

Roberts looks at the history, growth and organization of a church founded by a woman, Alice Lenshina, in north-eastern Zambia. Its conflicts with the Christian Church and the colonial and later nationlist governments are also traced. The growth, organization and resistance of its members illustrate effective female leadership. Roberts states that

this was possible among the Bemba where women were leaders in female rituals, in overseeing of royal rules and other religious spheres. On the other hand, breakaway churches have been founded by women in other societies.

Perhaps Roberts' study illustrates that religion is one of the areas where women channel their frustrations and assert themselves in an otherwise male-dominated political and economic world.

96. Stefaniszyn, Bronislaw. (1964) Social and ritual life of the Ambo of Northern Rhodesia. London: Oxford University Press. 171pp.

This ethnographic study was conducted from 1938 to 1943 and from 1950 to 1953. The author describes female puberty rites, courtship, wedding ceremonies, pregnancy, delivery and taboos. He examines the role of women in society generally. In the social sphere women are thought to be too shy and too easily swayed to hold their own. In the economic world, it is believed that they are not able to do certain types of work. These attitudes are reinforced in marriage where the subordinate place of women is sanctioned through earlier training and through the society's expectations of appropriate female behaviour.

97. United Nations. ECA/FAO (1976) Report of missions to review and follow-up the results of itinerant training workshops. Addis Ababa: Evaluation Series No. 11. 43pp.

The UNECA Training and Research Centre organized workshops in Zambia, Swaziland, Somalia, Lesotho and Tanzania for educators in home economics and other family-oriented fields.

The Zambian workshop revealed that more women than in the past attend informal home economics classes. Service organizations encourage them to grow protein-rich vegetables and citrus and to raise poultry and other small livestock. Women are urged to cook a variety of nutritious foods, to start their own businesses and to attend literacy classes.

The workshop revealed changing attitudes to family size and family planning. Women are in favour of smaller families, although men on the whole are not. Urban women now seek advice on family planning from clinics. However, some are against family planning while others are afraid of the effects of contraceptives.

98. White, C.M.N. (1962) Tradition and change in Luvale marriage. Manchester: Manchester University Press (The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers No. 34) 38pp.

Luvale marriages are closely related to the female puberty ritual. The ritual confers fertility and foundation for a good marriage. White gives a description and interpretation of the puberty ritual and compares it to that of the Bemba. One difference between the Bemba and Luvale marriage is that a more informal association between men and women exists among the Luvale. They do not regard women as ritually dangerous or impure. Modern marriages are becoming independent of the puberty ritual. They are acquiring a bilateral emphasis from the individual who chooses his/her marriage partner. Young women are expressing their opinion as to whether they wish to undergo a puberty ritual. To many parents with Christian influences or modern attitudes the ritual is not desirable. Although young men feel that ritual provides good training for a wife, they are not willing to go through the final stages when the bride is covered with red ochre and oil. The ritual is in some cases abbreviated, to reflect changing attitudes and to cater to school girls.

99. Wright, Marcia. (1975) Women in peril: a commentary on the life stories of captives in nineteenth century East-Central Africa. African Social Research, No. 20, pp. 800-819.

This article tells of three females uprooted from their homes in the late nineteenth century at a time of immense social and geographical dislocation. Nyamba, Chisi and Moli were each taken into captivity, sold numerous times, lived in different areas and had a number of husbands and protectors. How they each adapted differently to their varying circumstances forms the theme of the story. Nyamba comes out as the most passive, yet appears to have been the most abused. Her passivity was conditioned by a sense of belonging to notable households. She was the most dependent on men and on social networks. Moli, in turn, always managed to spring back from adversity and was able to manipulate and benefit from a changing social milieu not accessible to Nyamba. Yet she too relied to some extent on males around her: husbands, sons, missionaries. Both women suffered profound economic consequences, impoverishment through raids, famine, and changing social values accompanying wider trading systems.

By contrast to these two, Chisi stands out as the most "liberated". From childhood she knew that she had to be self-reliant, hence her decision to go and stay with her sister instead of remaining within the lineage. When she was later

abused by her husband she asserted herself by refusing to move with him and lost her children as a result. She "adopted" other children and struggled to meet both her and their demise with enormous fortitude. She showed herself most astute and active in making the best of her chances.

These three women lived at a time when property rights in persons were important and when women were at a premium as multipliers of the population, as labourers for society and husbands and as inheritable and disposable units. The women "tended to adopt strategies of survival within the social systems and realities of their times, some more effectively than others". Chisi was one of the latter.

Wright deals with a nineteenth century situation. However, her theme of "adaptive strategies" applies also to the situation of modern women facing rapid social and economic change such as labour migration and urbanization.

100. Wright, Marcia (forthcoming) Women in peril. Lusaka: NECZAM.

The publication contains her earlier article (No. 99) and four biographies. These are edited translations of the biographies of the three women in her article together with one man's biography. They were written in their own languages by the subjects' descendants.

101. Zambia National Archives, SEC2/408. Native marriages: child marriages and forced marriages, 1937-1946.

This folder contains correspondence and conference reports on child and forced marriages. In the extract from the Record of the Third Meeting of the Southern Province African Provincial Council, held in Livingstone on 11 and 12 June 1946, the conference recommended that the government advise Native Authorities to prohibit child and forced marriages.

There is also a booklet entitled, "Statement from St. Joan's Social and Political Alliance on the Status of the Women of Native Races" presented to the 18th Assembly of the League of Nations (1937). The St. Joan's Alliance was an organization of Catholic women fighting for political, social and economic equality between the sexes of all races. It was their belief that the status of women could be elevated by the adoption of an International Convention giving women equality and responsibility.

Among its recommendations, the pamphlet suggests that a policy of compulsory and free education for both boys and girls be established and that teachers be Africans trained in Africa. The aim is to eradicate the "slave mentality amongst African woman". They also recommend that marriage contracts be forbidden by law for girls under 14 and parents or guardians be punished if discovered to have pledged or coerced a young girl. The Alliance wants a law enacted requiring the consent of both parties.

The government was not sympathetic to the Alliance: it rejected the proposed law, wishing to continue with the arrangement whereby African marriages and divorces were conducted under customary law.

102. Zulu, Gertrude & Janet Mfula. (1971) Changing patterns of marriage in Zambia. Women's Rights in Zambia: Report of a Consultation. Kitwe: Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation. pp. 37-44.

The concept and practice of marriage in Zambia has been undergoing substantial change. This paper describes traditional Zambian marriages and discusses the main factors which have led to change. Traditional marriages were always an arrangement between two families. For cattle-keeping people, the marriage payment was in the form of cattle. For non-cattle-keeping people, hoes or anything significant to the society was acceptable. Older people counselled and settled disputes in order to preserve marriages. Marriages generally ended through the death of a spouse, divorce being rare. Taboos were established to maintain high moral standards in marriage. Polygamy was accepted and in some cases such as with chiefs, it was a status symbol. Generally wives were less dependent on their husbands because of access to paid and collective labour.

Modern marriages are contracted between the two people involved with or without the consent of their parents. They are often inter-tribal or inter-racial, and are monogamous. Urbanization, christianity and education have been responsible for some of these changes. Since Independence, Zambians have been able to marry under the Marriage Ordinance. This provides protection to the children and wife in case of a divorce since child maintenance and alimony are assured through the law. But generally women have become more dependent on their husbands because of a lack of employment opportunities. The few career women show less dependence and are able to support themselves and their children. These women do not want to be submissive to their husbands. They want equality of treatment in marriage and wish to be involved in the family's economic matters.

See also 5, 14, 17, 29, 32, 64, 104, 106, 110, 111, 139, 144.

VI. SOCIO-ECONOMIC POSITION

103. Business women in Northern Rhodesia. African Women, Vol. 3, No. 4, 1960. pp. 89-90.

Three examples of the careers of business women show what is possible outside the traditionally accepted roles. Mrs. Anna Chilombo, the first African woman to operate a store in Fort Rosebery (Mansa) began as a fish trader on the Copperbelt; later she opened a second store at Kashiba. Anne Lengalenga gave up her homecraft teaching career to buy a store and later developed her business with a second-hand car and a more spacious building. Mrs. Job Sichinga, a widow with seven children, continued to operate her husband's store at Muyombe in Isoka District.

104. Clifford, W. (1960) Crime in Northern Rhodesia. The Rhodes-Livingstone Communications No. 18. 130pp.

This is a study of the extent of criminal and antisocial behaviour in Northern Rhodesia, now Zambia. The author concludes that women committed fewer offences than men: most of the women imprisoned between 1955 and 1958 were for simple larceny or breaches of Municipal and Township Ordinances. Brewing of local beer constituted the greater percentage of these breaches. Women's social and economic activities have traditionally included beer-brewing: however, in the urban townships where beerhalls were established, brewing for a profit was illegal. Women were frequently fined for this offence.

105. Colson, Elizabeth (1951) The role of cattle among the Plateau Tonga of Mazabuka District. The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, No. 11, pp. 10-46.

Among the Mazabuka Tonga, most cattle are owned by individuals rather than groups, and women and children have the right to own cattle independently of their husbands, male or adult relatives. Women may acquire cattle through inheritance from their matrilineal relatives, through purchase from money received as a gift or from the sale of beer and crops. In the western chieftaincies a wealthy father may give cattle to his daughter upon marriage. A man might give his wife cattle as a present. A wife may also gain cattle through adultery in collusion with her husband. The offending lover is fined cattle which augments the offended husband's herd, and the

adulterous wife may then receive some of the cattle in appreciation of her role. In the eastern chieftaincies, by contrast, if a woman receives cattle upon marriage, it is considered a herding loan and not a gift. When the giver dies, his matrilineal relatives can claim the right to control the cattle.

In all cases males herd, thus making ultimate control by women less secure. Modern courts have increased women's sense of security regarding their cattle possessions, though most hesitate to take their relatives to court.

106. Colson, Elizabeth. (1958) Marriage and the family among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 379pp.

The book focuses on the effect of change in economic and social conditions on Plateau Tonga family relationships. Colson discusses the general organization of Tonga society as background to her major concern.

The conjugal family unit is important among the Plateau Tonga. It provides the major labour unit although kinsmen and neighbours may help each other. Settlement patterns and the presence of men who have not been attracted into wage labour have contributed to this. The Tonga have been involved in cash-crop farming which has become a major source of family cash income. This activity has greatly expanded owing to the use of the plough. Households also raise cash through sale of other items to individuals in their neighbourhoods. Some own stores or tea-shops. A few have invested in transport business. These opportunities are largely the prerogative of men. Although they share in the prosperity of their men, women have few channels through which to obtain cash incomes: they can sell crops from fields allotted to them, trade in such items as clay pots and baskets or sell chickens and pigs. Beer brewing is the best cash earner. When converted into beer, a bag of maize fetches a higher price than if sold directly. Many women brew regularly to keep up with demand. In some cases men seek to benefit through their women by providing the maize. In such a situation the brewer receives the smaller proportion of the profit.

The plough has also adversely affected the position of wives in the family. According to Tonga practice, the husband provides a field for his wife; he does not have much control over her produce. With the spread of the plough, the man's right to the fields and crops has been reinforced.

Since the plough and oxen are considered man's property, the husband claims rights over any surpluses from the family fields. Some men even claim a share from the independently cultivated women's fields if 'their' plough and oxen are used. Men feel justified in doing this as women usually send their acquired property such as oxen to their relatives for safe keeping.

Colson observes that the divorce rate appears to be relatively high although most people are reluctant to break their marriages because of the status it accords them in society. She attributes this to the introduction of heritable property, greater mobility of both men and women, western influences, religious differences and freedom of choice of a marriage partner. Divorce is when bridewealth is returned. Since the wife's relatives hold the bridewealth, they control the legal status of marriage. In the past a woman had to convince her relatives of her dire need for a divorce or else they hesitated to sanction it, thus siding with the husband. Now, a woman can obtain a divorce against the wishes of her relatives. However, she still has to convince the court and her relatives of the necessity for such a divorce. But this development has in turn led to men suing for divorce on a greater number of grounds. On the other hand, there have been developments which have encouraged stable marriages. Some of these are the removal of forced marriages and the loosening power of kinsmen.

The book also discusses relations between husband and wife and among co-wives, preparation for and the creation of marriage.

107. Colson, Elizabeth. (1963) Land rights and land use among the Valley Tonga of the Rhodesian Federation: the background to the Kariba Resettlement Programme. In D. Biebuyck (ed.), African agrarian systems: studies presented and discussed at the Second International African Seminar, Lovanium University, Leopoldsville, January 1960. London: Oxford University Press, pp. 137-156.

Land tenure prior to resettlement and the change which this would bring are the themes of this paper. Before resettlement land belonged to the lineage. This land consisted of a large number of small fields scattered throughout the cultivation area. A holder of lineage land could never transfer full rights of the land. If he died, his lineage could recover the fields. Rights to the land varied with the "source of the field" rather than the cultivator. A woman who received fields from her lineage or father had the same rights to that land as a man. She cultivated it as she wanted and she could refuse to share the crop with her husband or co-wives, or she could give the land to her children without consulting her husband. Being

divorced or widowed did not affect her rights to lineage land. On the other hand, land allocated to a wife by her husband was subject to his control. He could dictate its use or reclaim any portion of it to give to his other wives or children. When a wife was divorced or widowed, she lost rights to such land. Women who had land allocated to them by their husbands felt insecurity of tenure. Therefore they preferred to marry within their own area where they had independent claims to land.

With resettlement, women have lost their rights to lineage land. Although the extent of the land allocated to a man took account of the number of his wives, women did not become the owners. This restricted land tenure system has enhanced the position of men as family heads. They now have greater control over the choice of crops and the distribution of produce. Widows have been deprived of access to land unless they receive a field as a gift from the husband. Although women may eventually own land, they will do so only as daughters or members of landholding lineages. The author notes that until women have their independent fields, they will remain in an ambiguous position.

See also 70, 71, 72.

108. Colson, Elizabeth. (1966) Land law and land holdings among Valley Tonga of Zambia. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 1-8.

Colson observed changes in land tenure in three villages of Chezia neighbourhood (Gwembe Valley, Southern Province) following the resettlement of villagers when Kariba Dam was built. Before resettlement, women obtained land through their lineage, kinsmen, fathers or husbands. While tenure in land from fathers or husbands was less secure, women's rights in land from lineages and kin were safeguarded.

With resettlement, women's rights have been threatened, since land was allocated to individuals, generally men, and not to lineages. Men have therefore asserted greater control over land, over women's labour and even over produce from the women's fields. However, a few women clear their own fields in order to establish individual rights to land. This is facilitated by reduced pressure on land, owing to a lesser attachment to it by younger men. These are becoming craftsmen, fishermen and traders. Some of these who move to towns no longer think it essential to maintain claims to land in rural areas.

See also 71, 72.

109. Colson, Elizabeth & Thayer Scudder. (1975) New economic relationships between the Gwembe Valley and the Line-of-Rail. In D. Parkin (ed.), Town and country in Central and Eastern Africa: studies presented at the Twelfth International African Seminar, Lusaka, September 1972. London: International African Institute, pp. 190-210.

A comparison is made between two villages of the Gwembe Valley of Southern Province, Zambia, which were relocated to the Lusitu area in the wake of the post-1958 Kariba resettlement. The Authors examine the responses of the villages to relocation, the reasons for adopting specific modes of life and the consequences of the modern economy. They also look at the position of women in the new situation.

Mazulu village, located in a favourable agricultural area, is accessible to Kafue and Lusaka. People move freely from village to town for employment, visiting or shopping. Young people prefer school attendance to agricultural work because they can later obtain employment in towns. Whereas before resettlement, young men sought urban employment to obtain money for marriage payments while their wives remained in the village, now they elope together to the towns. Young wives enjoy living in urban areas because of the many conveniences, but they go back to their mothers to have their first babies, or to help cultivate gardens during the rainy season.

Musulumba village is closer than Mazulu to transport services connecting the village to Kafue and Lusaka. However, instead of going to town, the people have adopted what Colson and Scudder call a "peri-urban environment within Lusitu" and have an urban standard of living. Men work on construction projects within the area commuting either on a daily or weekly basis. Wage-earning work dominates the village, drawing to it young people who leave school earlier for wage work. The availability of local wage employment also attracts migrant workers from various parts of Zambia. Women are rarely employed for wages but do profit from the sale of beer and produce to the immigrant and local workers. Wives receive an allowance from their husbands to purchase food for the family and clothing.

In both villages subsistence agriculture is practised by women and children, while men concentrate on wage work. Both female and male members of the villages use government medical facilities but they also refer to diviners, herbalists and make use of other local medicines.

110. Hansen, Karen Tranberg. (1975) Married women and work. Explorations from an urban case study. African Social Research, No. 20, pp. 777-799.

Data for this paper was collected from one township of Lusaka, Mtendere. Hansen argues that the economic opportunities for the non-educated, non-professional women in urban areas are extremely limited. Due to the educational requirements of the occupational structure of Zambia and the male-oriented nature of the economy, the illiterate or semi-illiterate married women of Mtendere cannot find their way into the wage-earning labour force. None of Hansen's respondents was employed in wage labour at the time of the study. Yet many of them wanted employment to supplement their household incomes since their husbands, themselves semi- or non-skilled workers do not make sufficient money to meet the requirements of urban life. Others do not give their wives enough money. Because they cannot find employment, women are becoming increasingly dependent on their husbands.

A few engaged in certain types of work to contribute to the household economy. Their activities centred round trade in products destined for domestic use. These included foodstuffs, beer, charcoal, clothes, handwork and cement. The activities were conducted in or around the house, and did not conflict with women's roles as wives and mothers. The majority of the women engaged in these activities illegally. According to Zambian law no-one may sell her/his products in the streets without a licence; this costs money. Women thus engage in trade intermittently. The sporadic nature of the work is reinforced by the fact that sales are aimed at meeting immediate needs. It reinforces the dependant status of women resulting from their inability to find wage employment.

111. Hansen, Karen Tranberg. (1977) Prospects for wage labour among married women in Lusaka, Zambia. African Studies Association Annual Meeting, USA. (mimeo) 13pp.

Hansen criticizes scholarship which sees "modernization" or westernization as a process through which African women might improve their status. She maintains the contrary and supports her theoretical stand by data on and analyses of women in Mtendere, one of Lusaka's townships. The data and analysis are contained in her earlier article (No. 110).

112. Hansen, Karen Tranberg. (1979) When sex becomes a critical variable: married women and extradomestic work in Lusaka, Zambia. African Studies Association 22nd Annual Meeting, Los Angeles, California, 31 October - 3 November 1979. (mimeo) 13pp.

Hansen argues that the effects of colonial ideology, by which women were excluded from certain sectors of employment, persisted after Independence in 1964. The author looks at some of the factors which delayed women's access to employment. These include historical factors, differential education opportunities and lack of urban exposure. Historically, a women's place was considered to be in the home. She was supposed to work in the fields and care for herself and her children while the husband went to the towns to work. African workers were considered temporary urbanites, therefore housing and wages excluded wives and dependents. The urban sex-ratio was thus unbalanced. Males were employed in the so-called female positions such as shop assistants, clerks and domestic workers. After Independence the colonial ideology has persisted in varying and subtle forms. Women who were adults at the time of Independance and who had received little benefit from the colonial policies have become marginalized because of their sex. Not only do they have marginal access to employment, but they are discriminated against by the various government agencies which provide social and economic services. At the same time, the educational system has expanded and secondary school places for girls have increased. The urban sex-ratio has become more balanced. But the number of women in wage work is still small. Although women are gradually obtaining jobs formerly held by men only, the men still predominate. Zambian women have yet to overcome the residues of colonial policies and the attitudes of men which continue to curtail their access to employment and to equitable terms and conditions of service.

113. Jules-Rosette, Bennetta. (1979) Alternative urban adaptions: Zambian cottage industries as sources of social and economic innovation. Human Organization, Vol. 38, pp. 225-238.

Small scale cottage industries are a recent development resulting from rapid urban migration. They also represent a response to problems of urban survival. In Lusaka, small scale manufacturers, carpenters, tinsmiths, basketmakers, potters, carvers, painters and copperworkers form a large part of the marginal and informal activities. Recent rural and foreign migrants comprize the majority of these people. They are usually excluded from wage employment due to lack of accepted skills. The informal economic sector has become a source of livelihood in the many townships around Lusaka. Specialized groups, voluntary organizations and indigenous religious groups function as primary units

for small-scale activities. Traditional pottery makers are largely Bemba women originally trained in the production of ceramics for ceremonial use. The ceramic figures are used in chisungu, the Bemba female initiation ceremony. They represent different aspects of male-female and familial relationships. For example, the crocodile symbolizes male power within the household; the snake represents both male dominance and fertility. Women seldom continue to make these ceramic figures for chisungu when they move to town but direct their skills toward a commercial enterprise.

114. Keller, Bonnie & Edna G. Bay. (1977) African women and problems of modernization. In C.C. Mbakwu, V.C. Uchendu & L.F. van Hoey (eds.), African society, culture and politics: an introduction to African Studies. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America. pp. 215-237.

Zambia is one of the horticultural societies of sub-Saharan Africa. The authors argue that in pre-colonial times women occasionally had a "relatively high degree of political and economic independence". They illustrate this through the activities of African women in domestic, religious, political, economic and domestic areas. In agriculture men cleared the land while sowing, crop care and harvesting were women's work. In addition to farming, women had other skills which enabled them to earn an income throughout their life. They were marketeers and traders. In the non-agricultural seasons they produced handicrafts such as pots, baskets and other woven and dyed articles for sale. Thus although men contributed to the household, wives were expected to also support themselves and contribute to the children's material welfare.

Colonial rule and other economic developments of the period eroded some productive and profitable aspects of women's activities. Because colonial officials believed that only men could farm productively, women were excluded from training schemes. Woman's difficulties were compounded by land shortages which men escaped by going into wage work at plantations or mines. In the event of divorce or widowhood, women were sometimes left without land, making it difficult for them to earn a living.

The last part of the article considers women's status and their responses to rapidly changing conditions in contemporary African society. The majority of women still live in the rural areas and most are subsistance cultivators. Agricultural extension assistance is focused on men and cash cropping rather than on improving women's subsistence cultivation. In the job market women are now qualifying for positions formerly held by men.

Top women acquire much publicity. The press emphasizes that these women are successful wives and mothers first and only secondarily career women. A labour market survey conducted in Zambia revealed a substantial difference in salaries between women and men of the same occupational category except in jobs of clerical and administrative positions.

115. Lancaster, Chet S. (1980) The rise of new male-dominated institutions associated with the center and the declining role of rural women: the Zambezi Gobe in the twentieth century. Conference on Anthropology and History of Southern Africa, Manchester University, 21-24 September 1980. (mimeo) 37pp.

The Gobe people who inhabit part of the valley on the north bank of the Zambezi river are an uxori-matrilocal people. The wife's lineage have filiate rights over children. The role and status of women were traditionally and comparatively higher in the past than they have become in the twentieth century. Higher status was due to the social organization in which men resided in the wife's village and paid for the bride in the form of service. This was carried out at various stages through the marriage cycle which started with elopement. The continuation of brideservice obligations to the wife's group until later in the man's life acted as a hold on him. Second, women were more involved in agricultural production for subsistence. Lancaster argues that this may have given women more power in the household and certainly over younger unmarried or divorced daughters. Third, women were important in the people's cosmology and theology. They were the spirit mediums, the vasamukadzi, and played an important role in rain and other religious ceremonies and in inheritance settlements. The twentieth century developments brought about certain changes which subordinated women in a way they had never experienced before. Three major factors influenced this change. In the first place there was the intrusion of the money economy, involving villagers with the wider cash world. Men came to dominate this world. They were engaged in wage employment. Second, men dominated the cash crop production such as tobacco and cotton. Cash payments were also replacing brideservice. The fact that men had to go away for long periods to obtain cash released them from some of the hold the women's group had over them. Thirdly, a new legal system was introduced which placed jurisdiction powers in the hands of young men who tended to sympathize with men. The court lowered brideservices and elopement fees or tried to interpret them as equivalents of early bridewealth, thereby legalizing the patrifiliation of children at an earlier stage. Men were also exposed to other activities linking them to the wider political arena. All these developments resulted in a weakening social, political and economic position for women.

116. Lancaster, Chet S. (forthcoming) The Goba of the Zambezi: sex roles, economics and change. University of Oklahoma Press.

Fieldwork for this book was conducted from 1967 to 1969 in Nameingo and Chiava, two villages along the Zambezi and Kafue rivers. Wives used to hold some measure of influence and authority through their control of produce and processed foods as well as through their ancestor cult and descent group. Subsistence agriculture was practised by wives with their unmarried children. They were also the gatherers, in charge of small domestic stock and responsible for inter-village food exchange. Males usually sought wage employment in various towns leaving the agricultural work to women. The changes which have occurred in the twentieth century have altered life among the Goba. One change is the growth of the local cash economy which is dominated by men. Tobacco is the principal cash crop and is handled by older men. Monetization of the bridesservice system is another new trend. Young wage-earning migrants have bargaining power because the money they remit to their villages has become an important contribution. The new dry goods stores and beerhalls constitute competition for women and limit their participation in the cash economy. Lancaster also includes information on the Goba ecology, labour input, work patterns, yields, consumption and marketing practices in his book.

117. Miracle, Marvin P. (1962) African markets and trade in the Copperbelt. In P. Bohannan & G. Dalton (eds.), Markets in Africa. Northwestern University Press. pp. 698-732.

Miracle examines marketing in the Copperbelt towns of both Northern Rhodesia and Congo (Zaire). The Copperbelt has created the largest market complex in Central and Eastern Africa. Its markets draw a substantial proportion of their produce from distances of 600 to 900 miles. Storekeeping is another important activity. Miracle describes the historical patterns of trade; the social and economic characteristics of the trading places; the organization of marketing; and the major sources of capital for the traders. In the survey in Northern Rhodesia a little over 50 per cent of the traders were males, 40 per cent were women, mostly wives of the workers in the area. 7 per cent of males reported mining as their previous occupation. Only 1 per cent of the women had been in wage employment. The reasons given for selling in the markets included the need to raise enough money to support families or to accumulate capital to start other businesses. Women reported the following factors as reasons for trading: the need to supplement family income as husbands' wages were insufficient; the necessity to earn pocket money to spend on clothes because husbands'

wages could not always cover these costs; and the wish to kill the boredom and loneliness the new environment created for them.

Marketeers sell a variety of food and foodstuffs including maize and manioc meal, fish, vegetables, meat and poultry. The Copperbelt's greater variety of items for sale compared to other markets reflects the diverse composition of its inhabitants.

118. Miracle, Marvin P. (1962) Apparent change in the structure of African commerce, Lusaka 1954-1959. The Northern Rhodesia Journal, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 170-175.

This is a second study of Lusaka markets in relation to growth, composition of the vendors and products sold. The first such study was undertaken in 1954 (No. 123). Between 1954 and 1959 when the research was conducted another market had been added to the two recognized ones. Miracle found a slight growth in one, a decline in another and under 30 vendors per day in the new one. The proportion of females had risen from 19 per cent to 29 per cent. The increase in female vendors probably contributed to shifts in the source of produce. In 1954 vendors bought their vegetable supplies from nearby farms. By 1959, 56 per cent of them bought either from town or wholesalers at the market.

119. Muntemba, M. Shimwaayi. (1974) Women in agricultural change: a case study of the Lenje of Zambia. Women in Africa, Colloquium. University of California, Los Angeles. April 1974. 18pp.

The paper looks at the position of women before and after the introduction of the plough. The Lenje are a matrilineal, largely viri-local people. Every adult, male or female, gains access to land as an independent member of a village community. Therefore women have rights to land in their natal villages. A married woman can have land in her husband's village only through the husband.

Before the plough, married women worked in household fields which came through husbands. The division of labour followed sex lines with women performing more agricultural tasks than men. Despite this, men controlled the distribution of produce. Some women got independent land through their husbands. They had complete control over produce from these fields. Lenje women could own property in their own right. Some acquired cattle through inheritence or sale of agricultural produce.

When the plough was introduced, men learned how to use it. The spread of the plough coincided with government desire to increase African production. The government provided facilities such as loans and marketing and technological help for this purpose, but directed these towards men only. Men started to perform more agricultural tasks, but they also wished their wives to increase productivity. They could only do so by maximum utilization of their labour. Some men, therefore, hesitated to allow their wives to cultivate independent fields. At the same time, their control over household produce persisted. They controlled agricultural incomes to the disadvantage of women to whom they gave much smaller portions.

Women's reaction to this was varied. Some exploited the advantages given to them by customary ideology. They withdrew their labour at such crucial times as weeding and harvesting to go and cultivatetheir own fields in their natal villages. Some took to vegetable growing and beer brewing. Husbands did not have control over these. Others summoned their brothers to witness the sharing of agricultural incomes.

120. Muntemba, M. Shimwaayi. (1975) The needs of women in Zambia. Catholic Women's Workshop, Lusaka. 18pp.

The paper looks at problems confronting women as a whole and those affecting various categories of women: non-working married women, working women and working mothers, urban market women and rural women engaged in various economic activities. It is essential to look at the legal and constitutional provisions in whose framework women can argue their case.

The problems and needs of women are many and varied: the constitution does not adequately protect them (Section 25, subsection 1). Women are discriminated against socially and in their job situations, market women suffer harassment from middlemen, the police and the ruling Party militants, and rural women do not have access to those government facilities which can increase their productivity. For historical reasons, illiteracy is higher among women than among men.

Some of the needs of women can be met through government agencies. But women themselves can help alleviate their problems through self-education. They need to know their legal, constitutional and other rights and ensure that the relevant agencies honour them.

121. Muntemba, M. Shimwaayi. (1978) Expectations unfulfilled. The underdevelopment of peasant agriculture in Zambia: the case of Kabwe Rural District, 1964-1970. Journal of Sothern African Studies, No. 5, pp. 59-84.

This article focusses on the interactions between the independent government and the rural agricultural sector. Before 1964 both male and female peasants had placed great faith in the "nationalist" solution to their problems of underdevelopment, problems which nationalists blamed on the colonial government's support of the white settler community.

When Independence came in 1964, the new government was committed to "rural development". However, after Independence the local rural bourgeoisie reinforced the dwindling settler ranks. Many from this class also held important positions in the state as politicians, top civil servants, lawyers and other professionals. They vied with the peasants for resources such as financial assistance and fertile land close to the urban markets. Thus generally, the socio-economic situation of the peasants did not improve. In some cases it deteriorated because the meagre resources made available to peasants were thinly distributed over the country for political reasons.

Women found themselves among the least assisted of the disillusioned peasantry. There were two reasons for this. First, when the government aided the peasants, it continued the "reinforcement of success" approach, giving sizeable assistance to prosperous farmers. The colonial government had not conceived of women as farmers and had, therefore, already ignored them in their projects. Second, the male agricultural assistants continued to discriminate against female cultivators.

The deteriorating condition of women was aggravated by other developments. Bottled beer undermined the traditionally female activity of brewing for cash. In the past women could flee to the urban areas where some became prostitutes. In the post-Independence era rural women could not compete with the more sophisticated urbanites. By 1970 there were more women than men in the District's most productive age-group (15-35 years), demonstrating a lack of urban opportunities.

122. Muntemba, M. Shimwaayi. (1980) Regional and social differentiation in Broken Hill Rural District, Northern Rhodesia, 1930-1964. In M.A. Klein (ed.), Peasants in Africa. Historical and contemporary perspectives. Beverly Hills and London, pp.243-269.

Geographical environment, ecological factors and government policies contributed to the structural underdevelopment and social stratification which were evident in this agricultural area by 1964. Regions located further away from the urban markets or unsuitable for crops required by capitalists could not participate in the agricultural market. Production and, subsequently, the standard of living in these places declined.

Whereas men tried to overcome their growing poverty by entering wage labour, women could not do so, men could settle in better-placed regions but on their own, women could not. In these regions women constituted the most impoverished group.

Regions in better geographical locations and with good ecological endowment enjoyed on the whole a higher standard of living, but social differentiation became quite marked here. Government policies, wage employment opportunities and exposure to mission education which emphesized industry and agriculture enabled a minority of peasants to raise their productivity and, therefore, their standard of living. The largest middle group remained better off than those in less favoured regions. But a class of poor peasants was also emerging. Discriminated against by government agencies, unable to get wage employment to supplement agricultural capital, not having been exposed to an education that offered some technical knowledge, women formed the bulk of the poorer section of the peasantry. This situation persisted after the overthrow of colonial rule (see No. 121).

123. Nyirenda, A.A. (1957) African market vendors in Lusaka, with a note on the recent boycott. Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, No. 22, pp. 31-73.

The survey for the article was conducted in 1954 and 1955 at the two recognized markets, although the author also visited unauthorized ones. He interviewed 273 vendors and looked at such variables as sex, age, wage, occupation, marital status, spouse's occupation, transportation and market attendance. The survey revealed that most vendors were not occupied full-time, and some did not complete the day at the market. There was a high proportion of older men. Concerning females, only 18 per cent of the vendors were women. Of these 82 per cent were married, the majority to fellow marketeers or to hawkers whose income was irregular. Others were married to lower paid employees. The majority of female vendors viewed trade as a way to supplement family income. There was a higher percentage of unmarried women in market trade than in town as a whole. This is because the women who had to support themselves had no other source for earning cash. None of them had been to school.

Female vendors mainly sell cooked foodstuffs, green relishes and wild fruit, their male counterparts concentrate on fish and vegetables, foodstuffs with higher returns. Women cannot participate in these because they lack transport or free movement to the river and European farms.

124. Oberschall, Anthony. (1972) Lusaka market vendors: then and now. Journal of Social Science, Vol. 1, pp. 28-41

The author surveyed one of the old markets, Matero, to ascertain the ways in which the market had changed since it was first studied in 1954. He found that the number of female vendors had increased from 20 per cent in 1954 to 75 per cent. The women were mostly married, with working husbands. They traded to supplement family income. Men were either unemployed or had left employment because of low wages. Market trading had become full-time and a long-term pursuit. Fruit and vegetables predominated, but none of the vendors grew this produce.

125. Rotberg, Robert I. (1962) Rural Rhodesian markets. In P. Bohannan & G. Dalton (eds.), Markets in Africa. Northwestern University Press. pp. 581-600.

Rotberg discusses the historical development and existing organization of markets and looks at commodities and prices in various markets. He examines the vendors according to sex, age and education and their motives for entering the business. In the large markets of Abercorn (Mbala), Fort Jameson (Chipata), Fort Rosebery (Mansa), Kasama, Livingstone and Lusaka the majority of the vendors are male. The smaller markets of Lundazi, Isoka and Mongu are dominated by females. Women are largely part-time marketeers, often selling for a short time or when they need cash. Most of them sell maize, meal, malt, vegetables, cooked rice, meat, fat-cakes and snuff; they reported earning a little money only from their sales. Men prefer to trade in commodities such as fish which have a high turnover and bring bigger profits.

Statistics were available for Fort Jameson only. Here it was found that only a small proportion of women was literate. By contrast more men were literate. Men also considered themselves full-time marketeers.

126. Schuster, Ilsa M. Glazer. (1979) Marginal lives: conflict and contradition in the position of female traders in Lusaka, Zambia. Women and work in Africa, Symposium, University of Chicago, 29 April - 1 May 1979. (mimeo) 31pp.

An increasing number of Zambian women have been migrating to cities and towns, particularly to Lusaka. Trading has become a means of survival for many and has evolved as an alternative to begging or returning to the rural home. Trading does not hold a traditional place in Zambian society in contrast to other parts of Africa. Income from this source is not meant

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to meet definite financial obligations but is used to supplement the family income. Both the government and the general public react inconsistently to women traders. They are praised for their service yet condemned as exploiters; they are admired for their independence yet dismissed as immoral. These ambiguous attitudes are not restricted to traders but are extended to apply to the sub-elite and to better-educated and paid urban women. From a financial point of view, however, the position of female traders is much more marginal than that of educated urban women.

127. Schuster, Ilsa M. Glazer. (1979) New women of Lusaka. Palo Alto: Mayfield Publishing Co. 209pp.

Although the title might imply reference to elite women alone, Schuster is mainly concerned with the young, not-so-highly educated women she calls the sub-elite in the socio-economic sense. These women are secretaries and junior administrators in business and government. She illustrates how they are adapting to their new occupational and social status in a changing society where traditional prejudicial attitudes toward women persist. The new women of Lusaka are faced with many new problems, such as housing accommodation, adjustment to employment and leisure, change in relations to Zambian men and the public image of women built up by the local media as illustrated in the chapters "Women as Folk Heroes" and "Women as Folk Devils". Zambian women are making their contribution to economic development by trying to break away from their traditional subordinate role, by becoming economically independent and by contributing their skills and knowledge to society.

The book is based on the author's doctoral dissertation "Lusaka's Young Women: adaption to change" (University of Sussex, 1976).

128. Schuster, M. Glazer. (forthcoming) Perspectives in development: the problem of nurses and nursing in Zambia. Journal of Development Studies. Special issue on "Women and Development". 42pp.

In this article Schuster discusses the conflicting and ambivalent role of Zambian nurses both in relation to patients and to the general public. In pre-Independence days the few western medical facilities were confined to the urban centres. Scattered rural facilities were organized by missionaries. Personnel for hospitals and clinics were largely foreign, with a sprinkling of a few local aides. After 1964 the independent

government embarked on exparding social services including medical. But these were modelled on western-type hospital and medical care. As traditionally accepted in western countries, women were to form the bulk of the nursing staff. But because foreign staff was not sufficient or was leaving and colonial policies had excluded local people, the government embarked on a training programme. Girls with former Form II or existing Form III education were enrolled to train as Zambian Enrolled Nurses. Those with Form V were to end as State Registered Nurses. Training schools were opened for them at various hospitals in large towns and cities. Recruits to the programme were children of "transitional Africans", part of the rural setting yet removed from it as they lived in "urban enclaves" as shop-keepers, mission workers etc. This background affects the young nurses' outlook and contributes to the conflict and ambivalence nurses experience or are subjeced to from patients and the public.

There are three reasons for the ambivalence. The first results from two conflicting world views. The government introduced western-type facilities and a western view in which the concept of illness is based purely on the physical aspects of the human body. Cause and cure of illness are to be sought in this. On the other hand, Africans seek explanation in the social environment. As first generation sub-elite, young nurses have not completely broken away from the African view. Second, historically young married women were not healers. Third, the choice of whether to join nursing or not was in most cases made for the girls by the educational system and limited job opportunities. All these are reflected in the nurses' attitudes to work, relationships with patients and the public. The last point to be mentioned is aggravated by the society's ambivalent attitude to the female sub-elite. Through these variables therefore, Schuster tries to understand and explain the seemingly poor performance by the nurses who get blamed for all the "horrors" associated with modern hospitals, especially the University Teaching Hospital in Lusaka. Schuster hopes for a better future as admissions become more restricted and the cultural dependency on the west lessens. She sees something good in the African conceptualization of illness which might even benefit the west.

129. Simons, H.J. (1971) A statistical comment on the position of women in Zambia. Woman's rights in Zambia: report of a consultation. Kitwe: Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation. pp. 27-36.

All information in this paper is from the First Report of the 1969 Population Census; a more comprehensive survey would have to be based on the Final Report. The paper is concerned with

the impact of modernization on the position of women in Zambia. Simons looks at numbers of women absorbed into the modern sector and in which occupations, the kind and extent of education for women, the various age groups, marital status, kinds of marriages and the household size and income.

In 1969 the Zambian African population was 3,998,644 of which 2,042,223 were females. Some of the findings were that there were more women than men below the age of 44 but more men above 45. Of the married men 92.9 per cent had one wife, 6.8 per cent two wives, and 0.8 per cent three wives. Few women remained unmarried after the age of 29, but a substantial proportion of them was widowed. There appeared to be more widowed and divorced women than men, since men preferred to marry single women. The position of single women, widows and divorcees was more uncertain in the urban areas than in the rural areas. Women migrated to towns to join their husbands rather than for employment. The total number of African women in all areas of paid employment was 25,000 compared to 347,000 males. Wage employment represented only 14 per cent of the total rural working women, the majority being classified as "unpaid family workers". A large number of the women were also listed as "housewives", yet they actually were productive workers on the farms. (This means that there is no way to estimate women's contribution to the national economy from the Census, especially in the subsistence sector.)

The Census found 204,200 female household heads compared with 652,000 male heads. Rural female household heads may make a living cultivating land, but urban women cannot provide for themselves unless they have the education or skills which the labour market demands. For historical and existing reasons such as preference for male workers by the colonial economy, less access to education and a higher drop-out rate from school among females , fewer women can join the labour market.

130. Smith, Edwin W. & Andrew Murray Dale. (1920) The Ila-speaking peoples of Northern Rhodesia. Vols. 1 and 2. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd.

This classic missionary-administrator anthropological study covers various aspects of Ila life: physical characteristics, history, village organization and structure, production, diet, social organization, cosmology and folklore. The position of women is nowhere systematically described but several sections contain relevant material. The book reflects observations between 1902 and 1915.

Ila respect individual ownership of property, of which cattle are the most valued. Women can acquire wealth in their own right by a variety of means. The sex-based job distribution means that women do most of the agricultural work. They cultivate family fields with their husbands and have joint control over the produce. In addition, they may cultivate their own fields over whose produce they have complete control; they may sell this produce and buy cattle. Some women specialize in pottery or basket-making and sell their produce. Widowed or divorced women may through these methods acquire cattle and slaves, which in turn produce more wealth. Since wealth is the basis of chieftaincy, a rich woman can start her own village and become a chief, (but only one case is mentioned). Rich women are greatly respected by both sexes.

A married woman can also gain cattle by adultery with the approval of her husband. If this is repeated several times, she may receive some of the cattle he obtains in compensation from the co-respondent.

Women thus have rights over the products of their labour, but their husbands acquire through bridewealth rights over their sexual favours and over their children.

Women are taught to be submissive to their husbands (but the implicit impression gained from the authors is that this was much less salient than among other Zambian peoples). Where a man collectively insults women in a village, they will all strike until all men submit and apologize under threat of starvation.

The study also provides details on pregnancy, birth, childhood, puberty, marriage and sexual attitudes, gynaecological problems and remedies, aphrodisiacs, drugs and abortifacients.

131. Spring, Anita. (1976) Women and men as refugees: differential assimilation of Angolan refugees in Zambia. Involuntary migration and resettlement: the problems and responses of dislocated peoples. Symposium, Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Washington, D.C., 19 November 1976.

The Angolan liberation war intensified the shift of population from Angola to Zambia. This report of the resettlement of the refugees examines different assimilation of men and women of various ages into their new situation. Women Angolan refugees assimilate more rapidly than men: women can improve her economic position by divorcing her refugee husband and marrying a Zambian, then securing land and goods through her

local husband. Zambian men can pay higher bride price, encouraging parents to prefer them to fellow refugees. Divorced refugee men find it difficult to remarry since they cannot afford the bridewealth nor do they have land. Whereas older refugee women earn incomes and gain prestige by practising curative skills, men who practise their ritual expertise are sometimes accused of sorcery and are reported to the government.

132. Tilley, Toni. (1970) Womanpower. Horizon, No. 12, pp. 1-4.

This brief report contains biographies of selected Zambian women who have broken into "the man's world", the upper level of the job market. The importance of such biographies lies in their function as incentives to younger females, particularly those still at schools, colleges and university.

133. Todd, David with Alfred Mulenga & Chris Mupimpila. (1979) Markets and vendors in Lusaka, Zambia. African Urban Studies, No. 5, pp. 45-70.

Aside from South Africa, Zambia is experiencing the fastest rate of urbanization among countries south of the Sahara. Lusaka has been receiving the highest proportion of local migrants since Independence in 1964. Its official African population has increased from 50,000 in 1954 to 401,000 in 1974. In 1978, when research for this article was conducted, the formal sector employed 350,000 people nationally. Many people eke out a living through the "informal" sector in which market trading ranks very high.

The study includes an historical examination of the demographic features of the markets and of similarities and differences between their structures. One of the important developments is that whereas in 1954 women accounted for 18 per cent of the vendors on part-time, by 1978 they averaged 62 per cent and they were trading full-time. From their studies, the authors have concluded that marketeering has become one of the few stable activities in which uneducated women participate to maintain themselves or to supplement family income. However, the study revealed that market vending is not an occupation for those under 20. Unemployed school leavers must look elsewhere in the "informal" sector for subsistence.

134. United Nations. UNICEF (1979) Children and women in Zambia: a situation analysis. Lusaka. (mimeo) 156pp.

This is an analysis of the situation of children and women in Zambia with statistical information on their social conditions.

Although the Zambian Constitution guarantees women equal rights in employment, they cannot successfully compete with men in many of the new labour-intensive industries in towns. Females have less access than males to high levels of education. Professional training is still confined for women to traditional occupations such as nursing, teaching and secretarial work. Rural schools suffer from lack of teaching materials and low morale among professional personnel. This adversely affects both sexes, but more so women. Zambia's unequal distribution of economic and social service activities between the rural and urban areas is further reflected in a lower standard of living in the rural areas. This may be seen from poor nutritional status, poor sanitation and a high rate of infection.

Some of the agents in Zambia do not consider women and children as priority groups for their services. A small proportion of agricultural extension officers offer advice and support to women. Only a few radio programmes are aimed at women in agriculture. Broadcast in English, their audience is limited. Yet women have played a major role in subsistence agriculture. Therefore, they hold the key to the "Green Revolution" which politicians see as the hope for Zambia's survival. Financial resources for agriculture need to be administered in such a way as to capitalize on the labour potential of rural women. The survey further found that the activities of the women's clubs in Zambia were confined to clothes-making and food preparation. These clubs could become a powerful force for reconstruction in the neglected areas of agriculture, health and nutrition.

135. White, C.M.N. (1959) A preliminary survey of Luvale rural economy. Manchester: Manchester University Press (The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers No. 29). 58pp.

White looks at various branches of production and at changes to agriculture and exchange brought about by the modern cash economy. In terms of job distribution, men hunt, both men and women fish and both sexes seem to devote equal labour to agriculture. Farming produce is held to belong to both, although either retains that which is separately cultivated. Family income consists of contributions from both husband and wife. While the man supplements his rural income through wage labour, the woman relies on agriculture alone. Until the period after Independence which saw the establishment of commercial farming, both men and women realized more or less equal amounts from agriculture. The paper also touches on demography and fertility.

136. Wilson, Godfrey. (1941 and 1942) An essay on the economics of detribalization in Northern Rhodesia. Parts I and II. Manchester: Manchester University Press (The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers Nos. 5 and 6). Tables.

The essay is concerned with the economic situation of Africans in Broken Hill (Kabwe), the earliest mining town in the country. Research was conducted in 1940. The main aspects are wages, expenditure, household economics and the disproportionate relation between town and country resulting from constant but irregular circulation of men, particularly youths.

Employment policies have led to a disproportionate ratio of the sexes in both town and country. Towns have far less women, 3,500 compared to 7,500 men in Broken Hill, while rural areas have fewer able-bodied men. In Broken Hill a few marriages are permanent. There is a high rate of female circulation: in and out of marriage, from one husband to another, in concubinage with different men of all races and temporary prostitutes. Wives are economically dependent on husbands and are not as industrious as those in rural areas. But because of their fewer numbers they are at a premium. Husbands or protectors treat them well, giving them lots of presents, particularly clothes.

In rural areas women are in the majority. This is because some have been deserted by their husbands, now in town, while others have temporarily been left behind. Rural women are at a discount, rarely spoilt with presents by husbands or suitors and receiving little financial support. Most find themselves with great and increasing agricultural and other domestic burdens.

137. Zambia. President's Citizenship College & Ministry of Labour and Social Services (1980) Report on the pilot labour force survey of Kabwe Urban. Lusaka. (mimeo).

The pilot labour force survey of Kabwe Urban District was carried out by the government in conjunction with the International Labour Organization and the President's Citizenship College. Kabwe's economic prospect is uncertain due to the absence of economic diversification. Its population is young, with children under the age of 15 comprising more than 50 per cent of the total population. One third of Kabwe's potential labour force is "not available" for employment. This includes students and housewives. Female participation in the labour force is low owing to the high rate of illiteracy, to traditional attitudes towards married women in employment and to the lack of work opportunities. The rate of female unemployment between

the ages of 15-19 is 36 per cent compared to 34 per cent for men in the same age group. Many women participate in the informal sector by brewing beer and selling it or produce in the markets. They participate in these activities to supplement their low household incomes. The recommendations of this report include the evaluation of the adult education programmes to enhance literacy among adult females and the provision of vocational training.

See also 2, 9, 11, 50, 55, 56, 58, 60, 63, 71, 72, 85, 91, 136, 140, 141.

VII. RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

138. Bardouille, Raj. Economic contribution of women in Zambia: a case study of some townships of Lusaka.

The conventional concept of work as wage labour or employment away from the home has led to two developments. The male as the dominant figure in wage employment assumes a dominating role both in society and, as bread winner, in the home. Secondly, official focus has been on such people as contributors to the national economy as reflected in national censuses and statistics. This in turn has reinforced male domination in the society as a whole and women's subordination in official thinking, in the society and at home. It has also led to male-oriented "development" projects which pay little attention to the productive potential of women.

Bardouille wishes to move away from the above concept and to reinforce the rightful position of women in society by examining their contribution in the informal sector, their "invisible" contribution to the national economy. She is surveying women's productive activities in the home. This is consumptive oriented production, such as food production and processing and dress making. She then wishes to survey women traders at four of Lusaka's markets. At the end of her research she hopes to come up with a more meaningful methodology for arriving at labour force statistics for Zambia.

139. Brooks, Elizabeth. (1980) Social work intervention. A search for relevance in the Zambian context. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Zambia.

Brooks argues that effective social work must be socially relevant and, therefore, grounded in indigenous traditions of social problem solving. Her studies of problem solving are taken from rural Luvale of Kabompo District in the North-Western Province and from urban Luvale of Old Kanyama Compound in Lusaka.

In looking at indigenous problem solvers, Brooks brings out the subordinate position of woman in Luvale society. The Luvale, being a matrilineal people, determine identification and inheritance through the mother. Yet male dominance is exercised through use of the maternal uncle as spokesman and decision maker for the matrikin. Thus although mothers are present at problem solving sessions, they are usually silent.

The ruling Party branch has emerged as another problem solving body. Through the Women's Brigade wing of the Party, women have access to decision making processes. However, when the Brigade fails to solve a problem, it refers to the male chairman or headman. Male dominance is deeply ensnrined in Luvale thinking. "Women are just like children. They cannot solve any problems", stated one old grandmother. "Woman follow their men as dogs follow the hunter", says an old Luvale proverb.

140. Gadsden, Felicity. History of Chipembi Mission.

Now run by the United Church of Zambia, Chipembi Secondary School was in the hands of the Methodist Church until the late 1960s. It produced the first Standards IV and VI girls and the first female teachers in the country and was the first to offer secondary education to girls. In her research Gadsden is considering the school's role in mission strategy and the evolving attitudes of the mission to women's education and to educated African women. Her interest in the social impact of Chipembi appears in an investigation of the family background of some of its students, the influence of the school upon them and the subsequent careers of the school's graduates.

141. Muntemba, M. Shimwaayi. Women in agriculture in the railway region of Zambia: a study of changing economic opportunities and counter-strategies, 1900 to present.

In this research Muntemba is studying the effects on women of twentieth century agricultural change. The railway region of Zambia is endowed with suitable soils and is close to lines of communication and urban markets. African agriculturalists have been producing for these markets since the first decade of this century. In the process of peasantization and commercialization, new social strata and classes have emerged. Muntemba examines the position of women in these developments. To do this she looks at factors such as access to land, technological change and loans and marketing facilities. By focussing on a unique and hitherto insufficiently studied sector of the nation's labour power, she also deals with the problem of exploitable labour for national development.

142. Mwanamwambwa, Catherine. Critical aspects of women in self-employment: a Zambian case study.

Mwanamwambwa is examining the economic trends in Zambia and how they have affected women. 80 per cent of Zambian women are engaged in either production or distribution activities in the informal sector, where they are faced with many problems. They are rarely recognized by the marketing system, which prevents them from making an adequate income. In urban areas women are involved in non-agricultural self-employment activities. 84.1 per cent of the women in self-employment in Lusaka are engaged in selling vegetables that they purchase from farmers around Lusaka who deliver their produce to women marketeers and male middlemen. The middlemen will sometimes then resell the vegetables to the women at a higher price. Farmers prefer to sell to middlemen because these buy in bulk whereas women buy in smaller quantities. If they are members of the market co-operative, women sell the vegetables in the compound from stalls. Otherwise they sell outside their houses or trade on city streets where they are subject to police raids. Other problems are lack of transport to carry their produce to the compounds, exploitation from the middlemen, periodic police raids and lack of knowledge of market relationships. Women are forced to enter and remain in this kind of informal sector activity because of a lack of job opportunities.

143. Nyeko, Janet. The development of female education in Zambia, 1925-1963: the case of the Central Province.

The number of women employed in both private and public sectors in Zambia is very low. Through historical approach the author hopes to explain that lack of trained women results from government and missionary educational policies. Missionaries emphasized the role of men in the fields of economics and evangelism. Females were taught to be good wives and mothers through courses such as knitting, cookery, childcare and housecraft. Training Colleges did not cater to female students in the 1930s. The years 1945 to 1963 saw an improvement in female education. More teacher training colleges were available to females and the first secondary school for girls was started at Chipembi. The traditional role of women in agriculture was important but agricultural education was provided mainly for males.

144. Shifferraw, Maigenet. Women and education in Africa: case study on Zambia.

A doctoral candidate at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Shifferraw is mainly interested in urban education. The research aims to analyse the historical and contemporary education policies of both the colonial and neo-colonial states in Africa with a special focus on Zambia. At the end of her work she hopes to recommend an educational policy which will contribute to the emancipation of women.

145. Tembo, Minerva. The need for guidance and counselling services for female students at the University of Zambia.

Female students face many academic, social and inter-personal problems. There is a higher rate of female than male students who leave a University career because of failing their courses. A substantial number face personal problems which affect both their academic performance and health. The research set out to detail the nature of problems facing female students; the adequacy and quality of the existing facilities for assisting with these problems; and ways in which these facilities might be improved. After a year's research Tembo identified three major problems. First, students of both sexes experienced problems adjusting to a university-type education. These range from note-taking and study habits to time allocation for effective study. Women encounter additional problems in male attitudes which eventually undermine their self-confidence. Second, female students have more difficulty than males in establishing friendships and close relationships. Third, there are health problems to which broken love affairs, pregnancies and abortions all contribute. After surveying the existing facilities Tembo concludes that these are not adequate. Female students need special academic help, adequate and sympathetic counsellors trained in university-generated social problems and education in sex.

Tembo's research constitutes an M.Ed. dissertation for the University of Zambia.

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